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PRINCIPAL GRANT



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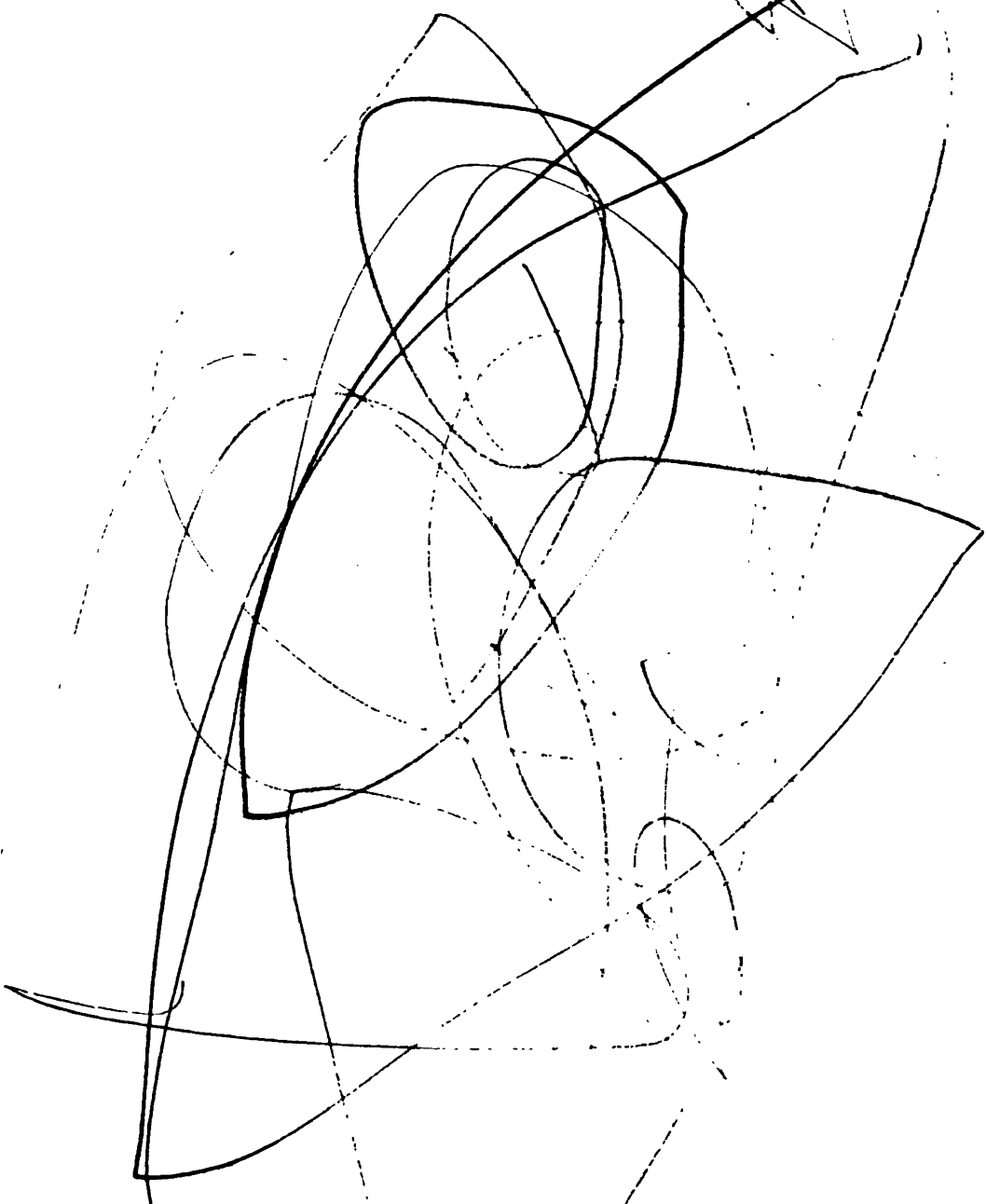
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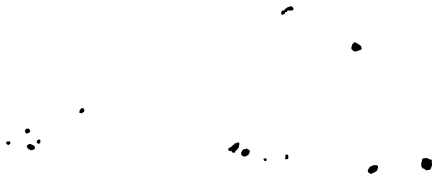
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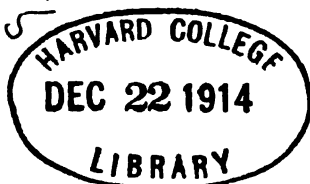
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TO

The REV. DANIEL MINER GORDON, D.D.

Principal of Queen's University

PREFACE

“**B**IOGRAPHIES written by sons are, as a rule, only one degree less contemptible than those written by daughters,” says a candid friend. It is impossible to come so closely into contact with the life of a great man as is implied in writing his biography without becoming a hero-worshipper. When the life to be written is that of one who has been the biographer’s hero ever since he drew conscious breath, the attainment of impartiality becomes almost impossible. Even to attempt it is to seem, in the eyes of many, guilty of unfilial coldness, of disloyalty to the loved and honoured dead. Yet much of the available material was contained in letters, portions of which were too private for any eye save my own; and filial reverence, even if endangering impartiality, at least shuts out the possibility of ignorance. It thus seemed fitting that I should take a share in the work, and I have been fortunate in having as my colleague a graduate of Queen’s—a friend of my father, and a writer of repute. Chapters I to X, XVII, and XX to XXV are my own; the remainder are by Mr. Hamilton. But our work is in the fullest sense a collaboration. Its plan was thought out by us both; we discussed together

PREFACE

the perspective in which every important incident should be placed; each has revised the work of the other.

My father's own cardinal maxim in criticizing a biography was that the hero should speak for himself, and to this rule we have endeavoured to adhere. Yet it has been impossible to avoid expressing certain opinions on men and movements of the time; for any of these which arouse controversy I take the fullest responsibility.

In many of his letters, matters of local or ephemeral interest mingle with those of permanent value. When it could be done without altering the perspective, we have not scrupled to cut out passages which seemed unnecessary, or, in a few cases, to run two letters into one. In any case where confusion could have resulted, we have been careful to mark the omission by asterisks.

To the many friends who have given us help; to the comrades of his youth; to the surviving members of his Halifax congregation; to all who have given us their memories of him, and without whose help this book could not have been written, we render thanks. Their names are too numerous to quote, but they are written deep in the memories of us both. The chapter on his relations to his colleagues embodies the ideas, and to a great extent the words, of Professors Cappon, Shortt, and Dyde. I must also thank in a very special manner the Rev. Robert Murray, editor of the *Presbyterian*

PREFACE

Witness, Halifax, and Mr. J. S. Willison, of the *Toronto News*, who read through the book in proof, and to whose advice we owe many valuable suggestions and corrections.

W. L. GRANT

CONTENTS

	<i>CHAPTER I</i>	<i>Page</i>
EARLY DAYS		1
	<i>CHAPTER II</i>	
STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW		23
	<i>CHAPTER III</i>	
CHURCH AND EDUCATION		49
	<i>CHAPTER IV</i>	
THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES		67
	<i>CHAPTER V</i>	
CONFEDERATION		87
	<i>CHAPTER VI</i>	
THE PASTOR		105
	<i>CHAPTER VII</i>	
HOME MISSIONS, 1868-73		121
	<i>CHAPTER VIII</i>	
"OCEAN TO OCEAN"		129

CONTENTS

	<i>CHAPTER IX</i>	<i>Page</i>
UNION		145
	<i>CHAPTER X</i>	
FINAL YEARS IN HALIFAX		171
	<i>CHAPTER XI</i>	
QUEEN'S BEFORE 1878		189
	<i>CHAPTER XII</i>	
THE INSTALLATION		205
	<i>CHAPTER XIII</i>	
THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN OF 1878		217
	<i>CHAPTER XIV</i>	
UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION		235
	<i>CHAPTER XV</i>	
PUBLIC ACTIVITIES.		243
	<i>CHAPTER XVI</i>	
FEDERATION		271
	<i>CHAPTER XVII</i>	
ROUND THE WORLD		295
	<i>CHAPTER XVIII</i>	
QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE		313

CONTENTS

	<i>CHAPTER XIX</i>	Page
CANADIAN POLITICS		347
	<i>CHAPTER XX</i>	
IMPERIALISM		395
	<i>CHAPTER XXI</i>	
LAST DAYS.		421
	<i>CHAPTER XXII</i>	
WITH THE STUDENTS		441
	<i>CHAPTER XXIII</i>	
WITH THE STAFF		453
	<i>CHAPTER XXIV</i>	
PRIVATE LIFE		465
	<i>CHAPTER XXV</i>	
RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TEACHING		481
	<i>CHAPTER XXVI</i>	
HIS PERSONALITY		499
APPENDICES		509
INDEX		529

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS

THE province of Nova Scotia owes its name to the fact that in 1621 King James I., ever on the look-out for some cheap way to reward his needy Scottish favourites, granted Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, a vast domain on which to plant a colony. Sir William, one of that numerous class of Scotchmen with more force of character than money, found the up-building of a nation too great a strain upon his resources, and with the full consent and approval of the sapient James, hit upon the plan of founding an order of Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia, wherein, on payment of a thousand merks (Scotch) to himself, and two thousand to the king, each member was granted direct from the Crown a baronial estate in Nova Scotia, and vast social prestige at home. The scheme was short-lived, though before it died it brought considerable profit to the shrewd originator.

But the name has to the Nova Scotian a deeper significance. King James and his canny favourite builded better than they knew, when to the eastern province they gave the name of New Scotland. In soil and in products, in climate and in scenery, Nova Scotia bears a strong resemblance to the

PRINCIPAL GRANT

"Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
Land of the mountain and the flood,"

and when the long struggle between France and Britain was over and Canada was again thrown open to peaceful settlement, nowhere did the Highland emigrants find a resting place so like the old home over seas, as amid the wild hills and pleasant straths of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. Nature did not, indeed, clothe the mountains in the summer mantle of purple heather, which casts a glory over the Highlands, but in every other feature of sea and sky, of mountain, glen and torrent, the emigrants found scenery which recalled to them their homes in Inverness or Sutherland.

One of the first parts of the new colony to be settled was the district afterwards known as the county of Pictou,¹ on the north shore of the province, separated from Prince Edward Island by Northumberland Strait. In no other settlement did the sturdy newcomers fare so hardly, and probably for this reason in no other did their Scottish love of country strike so deep a root.²

The land was wooded to the water's edge; the winter cold was a revelation for which they were

¹ The origin of the name is uncertain. In many old documents it is spelt "Poictou," and has therefore been supposed to be taken from the old province of France. The first white settlers found that the Indians knew it by the name of "Pictook," a Micmac name of uncertain origin. See "History of the County of Pictou," by the Rev. Geo. Patterson, D.D.

² The first Highland emigrants to Nova Scotia, and indeed, to the Dominion of Canada, came in 1773. On September 15th of that year,

EARLY DAYS

wholly unprepared; the nearest settlement was thirty miles away, over the mountains, at Truro; small wonder that for a moment some of the newcomers gave way to despair. But when the first shock of surprise was over, men and women buckled to with the grim heroism of their race. Trees were felled, and a few acres of land brought under cultivation; those whose means were insufficient walked over the mountains to Truro and there found employment. Many a man now living in comfort has heard his father tell how, in the old days, he walked by a blazed trail from Truro to Pictou with a bag of seed potatoes on his back, stumbling over stones and fallen trees, mired in swamps, swept away by torrents in spate, sitting down half-way to assuage his hunger with a bite of raw potato. The hardships they endured only kindled their Highland hearts to a more lively flame of devotion to the new land, a flame which shows no trace of diminution in their descendants. To this day, it is said, a Pictou county man may be known by the tone of subtle contempt in which he speaks of every other country in the world.

Nor was it long before their lot began to amend. They had not been accustomed to ease in the old land, and were not afraid of hardships; the rivers and the sea teemed with fish; they soon made

the brig *Hector*, of Greenock, cast anchor in Pictou Harbour with nearly two hundred passengers from the counties of Inverness, Sutherland and Ross.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

friends with the Indians, and learned from them to trap or to shoot the game with which the forest abounded. Their larders were often filled with a rude abundance of cod, trout, and salmon, part-ridges, moose, and bear. A trade in lumber soon arose and brought them again into touch with the outside world. But the intervals of ease and plenty were separated by longer periods of hardship and of want. No county in Canada has in later times produced so many famous men, but it is not these whom Pictou county loves best to recall, but rather the men who fought against the giants of mountain, river, and fell, and hewed out of the forest primeval the inheritance of which their descendants are so proud to-day.

In the early days the rivers were the chief roads; and settlement followed, in thin parallel lines, the fertile intervale land along their banks. Into the harbour of Pictou flow from the south three fine streams, the East, Middle and West Rivers, the first and largest of which is formed by the junction of two other streams, known as the East and the West branch.

Gradually, as land was cleared, agriculture became more profitable; the cutting and export of lumber and the building of wooden ships for sale brought a riotous but transient prosperity. In 1826 a commercial panic, following on and caused by the great crisis in Britain, killed for a time this industry, but in 1828 the mining of soft coal began to

EARLY DAYS

assume large proportions, and put the county upon a footing of more permanent prosperity. During all this time, especially between 1800 and 1820, immigrants were flowing in from the "Highlands and Islands" in a steady stream, many driven from home by misery and changing social conditions, others persuaded by agents, or by the less glowing but more truthful tales of their friends already in Nova Scotia; so that by 1830 the county was a thriving community of over fourteen thousand people.

Among the immigrants in the year 1826 was James Grant, a young Scotchman from Banffshire, whose family had for generations cultivated the little farm of Balnellan, now part of the estate of Sir George Macpherson-Grant, and almost under the walls of Ballindalloch Castle, at the junction of the Avon and the Spey. James, born December 23rd, 1800, was the fourth of seven boys, and finding no suitable prospects of a livelihood at home, decided to try his fortunes in the New World. He settled first at Albion Mines, on the East River, about two miles from New Glasgow, and ten from the town and harbour of Pictou. Here he took up land, but soon added to farming the position of school-master of the district. A man of no special force of character, but of unblemished life and simple Christian piety, he was, perhaps, specially noted for the dignity of his carriage, and the spotless neatness of his attire. He afterwards abandoned school teaching, and moved into the town of Pictou, where he

PRINCIPAL GRANT

did much of the legal work of the community, writing deeds and wills; for a time he tried his hand at auctioneering, and while in none of these vocations did he amass even a competence, he always bore an honourable name in the community as a kindly neighbour and an honest, God-fearing man. His kindness sometimes got him into difficulties, for his dislike of saying "No" more than once led him into "putting his hand to paper," to oblige a needy friend, and thereby lessened still further the slender household resources.

On September 15th, 1831, he married Mary Monro, who had been born at Inverness, June 10th, 1804. She came of a clerical line, her grandfather being the "Godly Mr. Monro," (minister of Cromarty) mentioned by Hugh Miller in "My Schools and School Masters." During all their married life they lived in Pictou county, first at the Albion Mines, then in Pictou town, then at Middle River, (from 1848-56) and from that time until 1865 at Viewfield, a farm which James Grant purchased, about two miles from New Glasgow. In that year his wife died, and he returned to the Albion Mines, where he lived till his death on June 4th, 1870. During their earlier residence at the Mines were born their five children, the third of whom, George Monro Grant, born December 22nd, 1835, is the subject of this memoir.

Grant's early days were passed on the little farm, where he acquired both that love for nature, and

EARLY DAYS

that practical ability to turn his hand to the need of the moment, which were among his most prominent characteristics. In the summer of 1848, shortly before his eighth birthday, occurred the incident which cost him his right hand, and changed the whole course of his life. Near his home were the Albion coal mines, controlled by the General Mining Association, a British corporation formed to operate nearly all the mining lands of the province, which had been most iniquitously leased by the home government for sixty years to the Duke of York, and transferred by the royal spendthrift to one of his many creditors. A new haycutter for the horses in the mine had recently been imported, and lay in a shed adjoining the pit-head, where it was inspected by an admiring crowd. Peering through the legs of the spectators was little Geordie Grant, and when the grown-ups had retired, he and a number of his playmates decided to put the new cutter in operation. To young Grant was assigned the task of feeder; the machine soon clogged, and he seized a bundle of hay to pull it out; this done, the machine again began working, the handle turned by a boy of about Grant's age, but the baby fingers had again plunged deep into the hay, and the knives swept off the little hand just below the thumb. The cry that rose brought several of the miners to the spot, and the sufferer was carried home, a comrade running by his side, and endeavouring to cheer him up with the boyish consolation,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

"Dinna greet, Geordie; I hae the fingers." It was, very possibly, the long convalescence, lasting nearly a year, which first turned his mind in the direction of study. James Grant had all the national love of scholarship, and both he and his wife were of learning and culture above the average, but it was probably the loss of a hand which made it imperative for George to turn to a vocation other than manual. Many stories are still current about the event; how the father said, "He'll never be a farmer now; we'll have to make him a scholar," which is obviously a wholly unjustifiable perversion of what may have passed through his mind; and how on the very evening of the accident the little sufferer began to practise writing with his left hand, an exaggeration which yet brings out vividly the indomitable pluck and energy which were his even as a boy.

Once the shock of the accident was over, his abounding vitality soon returned. In 1845 he struck an observer as "being the most restless, or let me say vivacious, child that had ever come within my range." But though apparently rather "a pickle," he was always his father's favourite. "George will do what is right," the good man would say, when any question of household discipline arose.

To about this period, probably to the summer of '44, belongs a characteristic story of how he borrowed, unknown to the rightful owner, the rod of his elder brother Archie, and went fishing in

EARLY DAYS

the East River. A struggle took place with a passing boy who had views of fishing not coincident with his own, and Grant was precipitated from the bridge into the river. Alarmed at his act, the bully rushed away, but a small boy who had seen the scuffle toddled to the house, and brought word to his parents. When rescued he was apparently dead, but luckily a doctor was near at hand, and he was eventually restored to consciousness. At about the same date, while attending his father's school, he beguiled his elder brother and sister, and one or two of their playmates into taking part in the noble game of attempting to see which could peer furthest over the edge of a well in the school-yard without falling in. Not unnaturally, one of the contestants over-balanced himself, and fell with a prodigious splash into the water. He still lives to tell of the Spartan zest with which James Grant "skelped" his three eldest offspring before the eyes of the admiring school.

Shortly after the family removed to Pictou, Grant entered upon a more systematic course of study at the still famous Pictou Academy; but the deepest influence upon his life at this time was that of his mother, a woman who combined great practical sagacity with a deep Scottish piety, and whose memory Grant always cherished as that of a saint. "My mother and yours," he said once to his son, on one of those rare occasions when he opened his heart and spoke of his own feelings and emotions,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

“were the two best women I have ever known.” Of this period of his life, his only surviving brother, the Rev. C. M. Grant, of St. Mark’s Church, Dundee, Scotland, speaks as follows:—

“Genius comes from the mother, and it is no disparagement of the mental—which was greater than the practical—ability of our father to say that it was from our revered mother that the genius in George Grant came. She was a woman of wonderful insight, and we early learned to place an almost superstitious value upon her judgment. ‘Mother can’t be wrong,’ became a formula of the faith that was in all of us. Whilst her love for all her children was of the deepest and tenderest, I think there was something in her feeling towards George and myself which differentiated it from that towards the others, for I was her youngest—her Benjamin—and her seeing eye early saw in him that which we all afterwards came to see. Her own life was lived very close to God, and she was a woman of prayer as few were or are. When I was about ten years of age I made a discovery which made an impression on me, which, thank God, has never left me, and in which those who believe in the power of intercessory prayer may find the explanation, or part of it at least, of the great and unselfish life which has so recently closed. I observed that when the household work was ended after breakfast, it was my mother’s habit to retire to her own room. I wondered what she could be doing

EARLY DAYS

there, and one day I found out. Hearing her voice, I stepped to the door, and, boy-like, listened and learned. She was praying, evidently quite unconscious that in her importunity she was speaking aloud, and praying with a passion that to this day fills me with awe as I go back in thought, and once more stand beside that door. I have never been able to speak or to think of Jacob at Penue! wrestling and prevailing, without thinking of that morning and that mother's prayer. In the strong arms of her faith she seemed to hold her Saviour, and she would not let Him go without the blessing. But it was not for herself that she sought it with such strong cryings and tears. 'My children, Lord, my children'—that was the burden of her cry. The remembrance of that prayer has been one of the inspirations of all my after days.

"As I have said, the mother's seeing eye soon saw in George what in the fulness of the time we all came to see, and her soul sang its *magnificat* for him. As she phrased it, after the fashion of the faith that was in her, she was sure that 'God had a purpose for him.' One day when talking about him to a godly neighbour about his having, before he was twelve years of age, been three times at the door of death—once when he was scalded, once when he was all but drowned, and once when he lost his hand—the neighbour said to her: 'Do not be afraid about that boy, Mrs. Grant; the Lord has surely some work for him to do.' The

PRINCIPAL GRANT

remark made a great impression on her, and I distinctly remember frequent references to it by her. 'Yes,' she would add, 'the Lord has a work for him.'

"I am not one of those prodigies who profess to remember everything from the first hour of their lisping, and I have no distinct impression of him till the close of the school days in 1847, when I was five and he upwards of eleven years of age. We were then living in Pictou town, and he was attending the academy there, the head of the English department of which was dear old William Jack, a name of fragrant memory to many. Suddenly I saw George—it is my first clear vision of him—bounding across the vacant space between the academy and our house, for neither then nor ever could he move save forcefully, and 'Cha, I have got the medal,'¹ he cried. I looked up from my mud pie and wondered that he should seem surprised. The idea of any other boy being equal to him! And so thought we all of us.²

"In 1848 we removed from Pictou town to the Middle River and entered into the life of a very

¹ The prize, a silver medal for proficiency in arithmetic, lies before me as I write. It was one of my father's most cherished possessions. "No other prize I ever won," he would say, "gave me half the joy and pride which I felt as I carried that medal home to my mother. How I ran that day!"

² "I was once caned while at the academy," he told his son, "I did not sleep that night till I had stolen out, broken into the school, and smashed that cane into a thousand pieces."

EARLY DAYS

primitive farming community. Money was scarce and schools were few, and even where they existed they were but fitfully filled. There might be three months or perhaps six months of teaching, but such activity would be followed by six or twelve of vacation. I am literally correct when I say that I myself never got more than six months of consecutive teaching till, at twelve years of age, I went to Pictou Academy, boarding with my uncle, Edward McArthur. Through our residence in the county town for several years, George had enjoyed better opportunity, but after we went to the Middle River his education must have been carried on very spasmodically.

“These were the days of ecclesiastical and political factions at their fiercest. ‘Kirkmen’ and ‘Anti-Burghers’ hated each other with a whole but an unholy hatred. The former were ‘Conservatives’ and the latter ‘Liberals,’ and I remember the loathing with which a certain man was pointed to as one who, though a Kirkman, had voted Liberal. A veritable Judas and nothing less, we all deemed him. ‘Fear God and hate the Anti-Burghers,’ summed up our creed, and with the necessary change of one word, it summed up that of our foes. It therefore required considerable fortitude on our part to send George to the seminary at the West River, at which the Anti-Burghers gave their young men a training and preparation for their Divinity course; and it required considerable charity on their

PRINCIPAL GRANT

part to receive him. He remained there for two sessions, till the way was opened for the continuance of his studies after a fashion more satisfactory in itself, and more in accordance with the ecclesiastical sympathies alike of his parents and of himself."

No gathering of Scotchmen would for long consent to forego the ordinances of religion, and hardly was the first acre cleared and the first potato planted, ere the immigrants sent a request to Scotland for the ministration of a qualified Presbyterian clergyman. It was the hey-day of the Moderate party in the Established Church, a party which included many men of culture and morality, and not a few of quiet, unostentatious piety, but which was almost wholly devoid of evangelical fervour and missionary zeal. Hence the immigrants were compelled to turn to the Dissenters, and applied for aid to the Associate Synod of Scotland and to the General Associate Synod, better known as the Burghers and the Anti-Burghers. These were two sections of a body which had left the Establishment on the question of patronage, and then, after the manner of such bodies, had in turn split upon the question of the Burgess Oath, which one party considered to imply a recognition of the Established Church. The question was at best a trifling one, and a very sorry affair to cause a schism in the church of Christ; but narrow and even absurd as were the views of the sectaries, they yet had more of the

EARLY DAYS

missionary zeal of their Master than the grandees of the Establishment, and in 1786 the Anti-Burghers sent to Pictou the Rev. James, afterwards Dr., McGregor. Dr. McGregor at first stood aloof from the ministers of the adjacent county of Colchester, who belonged to the Burgher section of the secession, but the difference between them, small enough in Scotland, was meaningless in Nova Scotia, and in 1817 the two bodies united, forming "The Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia." This body included also two or three congregations originally connected with the Church of Scotland, the only one remaining outside being St. Matthew's, Halifax, whose peculiar constitution prevented its joining the union. "All the secessions originated in Scotland, all the unions have come from Canada," and the Nova Scotia union was followed in 1820 by that of the parent churches in Scotland, and in 1847 by their further union with the Relief Synod, thus forming Scotch dissent into one powerful body, known as the United Presbyterian (U.P.) Church.

In Pictou county the United Church was still from old association known as the Anti-Burghers, their leader by this time being not Dr. McGregor, but the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, who had come out in 1808 from Stewarton, in Ayrshire. In 1816 Dr. McCulloch succeeded in founding Pictou Academy, as a protest against the narrowness of King's College, Windsor, one of those Anglican insti-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

tutions, whose arrogance, at once social and religious, has done so much to weaken that church throughout the colonies. A long struggle followed, in which religious dissent and political reform fought hand in hand against the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the merchant aristocracy of Halifax, which were at this time supreme in church and state. The academy, which aspired to do not only scholastic but also collegiate work, fought hard for some share of the support permanently granted, alike by the provincial legislature and the home government, to King's; several times a bill to this effect was passed through the House of Assembly but vetoed by the council, and the academy had to be content with some small annual doles. Of this politico-religious struggle, Dr. McCulloch was the heart and soul. He also taught for some years in the academy, and taught not inadequately, "Greek and Hebrew, logic, moral philosophy and natural philosophy," and was in addition throughout the whole period minister of the Pictou church, preaching regularly twice a Sunday.

In 1881 a sharp rebuke to the dominant party by Lord Glenelg, the colonial secretary, led to the passing of a bill for the permanent endowment of Pictou Academy, but the triumph of the Anti-Burghers was short-lived. Between 1817 and 1881, several congregations in connection with the Established Kirk of Scotland had been founded, and these had gradually, partly owing to personal dif-

EARLY DAYS

ferences between the ministers, drifted into an attitude of bitter antagonism to the Anti-Burghers. While the academy was nominally free to all, Dr. McCulloch had apparently given to it a dissenting tinge, and at the crisis of the struggle the whole weight of the kirk party was thrown upon the side of Conservatism. Accordingly, the bill which was passed limited the use of the greater part of the government endowment to what were known as, "The Grammar School Branches," and the more advanced philosophic and religious instruction decayed, till, in 1888, it was done away with altogether, Dr. McCulloch himself and half of the grant being transferred to Dalhousie College, in Halifax, and Pictou Academy being remodelled as a high school. From this time the Anti-Burghers transferred their hatred, in Pictou county at least, to the kirk, and a struggle began, of whose half tragic, half ludicrous intensity it is difficult to form an idea.

"Every Kirk man was a Conservative, and every Anti-Burgher as necessarily a Liberal. I remember going to the town of Pictou a few days before I left for Scotland. There was an election being held. The usual fight had occurred and was almost finished as I got into town. The streets were covered with snow. It was early in March. But on that forenoon the snow was not all white. The red was there, and not sparingly. Patches of blood were here and there along the street. Savage Indians could

PRINCIPAL GRANT

not surpass the brutal violence of that day, in the Presbyterian town of Pictou."¹

Separate schools were founded, with the natural result that the children grew up in an atmosphere of hatred and distrust, and that organized encounters not infrequently took place between the scholars of neighbouring institutions.

In 1843 came "the disruption" in Scotland, and the founding of the Free Church. In 1844 the schism spread to Nova Scotia, and it looked as if the cause of the Establishment was lost. "The sheep," says the Rev. C. M. Grant, "had then been all but deserted by the shepherds. A number had gone out, and all the rest, with the solitary exception of good old Dr. McGillivray, of McLellan's Brook, had, naturally enough, perhaps, but not very chivalrously, returned to Scotland, somewhat to fill the depleted ranks there. The people, however, continued to cling to the church with something of the same loyalty with which their forefathers had clung to the Stuart cause. Since then another generation has arisen, and with it a less fervent and more Laodicean mind. I have never encountered anything more passionate—and I fear it must also be confessed, more unreasoning—than the loyalty of the Pictou congregations of that day. And this confession I make as one born and baptized into the same spirit, and, as a lad, myself filled with

¹ Reminiscences of the Rev. Alexander Maclean, D.D., of Hopewell, N.S.

EARLY DAYS

it to the overflow. And even yet, whilst I cannot justify it, I cannot but sympathize with it—so ardent, uncalculating and unselfish it was. The deserted flocks hung together with a touching tenacity. If they could not worship within their own Zion, they at least would not worship anywhere else. I know that our own family was looked upon with some suspicion because we walked or drove three miles every Sunday to the Anti-Burgher church at Pine Hill. This temporary lapse we, however, rectified in the better times soon to come, when we gladly walked or drove five miles to New Glasgow, when Allan Pollok came to us from Scotland.”¹

In this atmosphere of political and sectarian bitterness young Grant grew up ; but it filled him, not with its own miasma of narrowness, but with the passionate desire to do away with such an unchristian jangle. He became filled with that passion for unity which was one of the strongest features of his religious life ; not, as he himself put it, “the dead uniformity of a churchyard, but the living, breathing unity of a healthy growing organ-

¹ “Kirk” and “Anti-Burgher” lasted as political terms long after Anti-Burghers and Free Kirk had been merged in the “Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces.” In the confederation struggle the Conservative party were for the most part for confederation, the Liberals against it. Hence the Anti-Burghers were also Anti-Confederates, and as late as 1871 the election in Pictou county was run between the “Kirkmen” and the “Antis.”

PRINCIPAL GRANT

ism." "Christ is divided,"¹ was in after years the theme of one of his most impassioned sermons. To the young student, thinking high thoughts as he walked through the rich pasture-land along the intervale, the division between the various members of Christ's church seemed in very truth an actual physical rending of the body of his Master, a sin hideous as that of Golgotha itself.

In 1858 the cause of the kirk began to look up, for the Establishment, reviving from the shock of the disruption, sent out to the shepherdless flock four ministers, two of native birth and two Scotchmen: Messrs. Herdman, Sprott, Maclean and Pollok. Of these the Rev. Allan Pollok, now the revered principal of Pine Hill Divinity College, Halifax, took the lead, and a light began to shine through the gloom and depression. The creation of a native ministry was one of the tasks to which these men directed their energies. In the enthusiastic youth of the congregations they found material, in plenty, to hand. But how was it to be utilized and fitted for its purpose? A local theological hall was, in the circumstances, impossible, even if an arts course could be had somewhere. Whilst the people, as a whole, were fairly well off, the scarcity of money was such that no class existed which was able to meet the expense of sending its sons to Scotland. The expedient of establishing a system of bursaries presented itself

¹ 1 Cor. i. : 13. The text reads: "Is Christ divided?" but he took advantage of the *varia lectio* to emphasize his point.

EARLY DAYS

and was adopted. By what was known as "The Young Men's Scheme" bursaries of twenty pounds a year in Nova Scotia currency (eighty dollars), were given to all young men of the revived synod willing to devote themselves to a theological training in Glasgow or Edinburgh University. Some aid of a less certain character was also given to those who preferred to carry on their studies at Queen's University, Kingston. The terms on which the bursary was given were that the recipients promised on receiving license to return to Nova Scotia and to give service there for at least three years. In 1858 two were assisted to begin their course at Queen's, and four set sail for Glasgow University. In the order of age their names were:—William McMillan, Simon McGregor, John Cameron, and George Monro Grant.¹

¹ Of the four, Simon McGregor—now minister of Appin, in Scotland—alone is left. McMillan served his Master, unknown to all save his native county, in a quiet parish on the East River of Pictou, and went, nearly twenty years ago, to his reward. Cameron and Grant, whose sky of life-long friendship had never been flecked by a cloud, passed away within a few months of each other.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

GRANT'S success at Glasgow was rapid and complete. The Rev. David Macrae of Maxwell Park, Glasgow, a life-long political antagonist and personal friend, writes:—"There was no lack of other brilliant men during those years, in the various faculties, men like Flint,¹ Everett, George Luke, Menzies, John Macleod,² Hunter,³ and Bryce.⁴

"These were all giants in their own departments. But Grant's superabounding energy and wide-spread sympathies carried him into every sphere of student life; into every one of them he carried the same whole-hearted enthusiasm; and in them all his rare powers carried him to distinction. In the debating society, as well as in his classes; on the football green, as well as in the political oratory of the elections, Grant was always to be found in the foremost rank. Hence the uniqueness of his position; while, crowning all his varied and ver-

¹ Now professor at Edinburgh University.

² The late minister of Govan.

³ Sir Wm. W. Hunter, the celebrated East Indian historian and administrator.

⁴ Now the Rt. Hon. James Bryce.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

satire gifts, was his bright, brave, chivalrous spirit, and irresistible geniality. Disappointment or defeat never seemed to sour or dishearten him. He might be struck down for a moment, but only to reappear buoyant, brave, and cheerful as ever. On the other hand, his triumphs never seemed to beget pride, never showed themselves in any assumption of superiority, never made any one jealous of him.

“Apart from his brilliant powers, his manner was singularly engaging. His very salutation had a warmth and heartiness about it that made it feel like a personal compliment. I can recall vividly a delightful expression that was often in his face when you were talking with him—a merry twinkle from between his half-closed eyelids, as if he were keenly enjoying what was being said, and had something racy to follow it up with, as he usually had.”

But though so prominent in all circles of academic life, Grant never forgot that he had come to Glasgow to study. He took bursaries, scholarships, and medals, during almost every year of his course, and maintained himself in comfort without being compelled to draw upon the scanty exchequer at home. The days of specialization and research were still in the future, but he obtained, which was for his purpose much more valuable, a broad and thorough education along the lines of science, literature, philosophy and theology. His college note-books still remain, and embrace in a handwriting already

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

formed, but much smaller and more regular than that of his later years, lucid and orderly notes on a great variety of books read and lectures attended. Long extracts from Carlyle, Coleridge, Lord Chesterfield's Letters, and numerous other authors, indicate a habit, which he retained till the last, of making written excerpts from any passage which caught his fancy.

While none of the professors made so deep an impression on him as some of the books read, or some of the ministers and authors encountered, he retained for nearly all of them a high regard, and an especial affection for Lushington, professor in Greek, and brother-in-law of Lord Tennyson. "Old Ramsay," says Dr. Macrae, "author of 'Roman Antiquities,' (facetiously known by us as 'Ramsay's Iniquities') was professor of humanity, and classic Lushington of Greek; old Buchanan, the incomparable examiner and educator, (Logic Bob, as he was usually called by the students) was professor of logic and rhetoric; blushing Blackburn, of mathematics; William Fleming (Moral Wull) of moral philosophy; Nichol, the early and eloquent expounder of the nebular hypothesis, occupied the chair of astronomy; and Thomson, now Lord Kelvin, was professor of natural philosophy, with a constant tendency in his classes to soar away into the empyrean of the higher mathematics, where only a handful of his students were able to follow or even keep sight of him."

Though the young Canadian had made the most

PRINCIPAL GRANT

of his early opportunities, he was at first at a disadvantage in contesting with the best students from the parish schools and academies of Scotland ; but he was soon brought to the front by his unflagging industry, and still more by his power of seeing to the heart of a subject, to the exclusion of unimportant details.

Hardworking and faithful student though he was, the actual learning acquired was the least part of his education. The ardent, unspoiled mind of the young colonial sunned itself in the warmth of literary, historic, and architectural charm and association. In his holidays he wandered about the country, now along the border, now among the western or central Highlands at Morven or Blair Athol. He heard the greatest preachers, and became the personal friend of more than one. In the whirl of civil and ecclesiastical politics he took a keen interest, and gained a knowledge of men and affairs which stood him in good stead. Though by several years the youngest of the four Nova Scotians, he from the first evinced a maturity of thought which made him the friend and even the trusted counsellor of those who were his elders in years.

One of the great events in the life of every true Scottish student is the election of the lord rector, the representative of the students on the governing board of the university. Though occasionally some man of commanding genius, such as Carlyle, is chosen unanimously, the contest is usually con-

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

ducted upon lines strictly political; and into this party warfare Grant entered with the greatest zest, becoming one of the chief speakers of the Conservative Club, and eventually its president. Even at the West River Seminary he had been foremost in the debating society, and his readiness, coolness, and dash soon made him a prominent figure in the tussles which all old Glasgow students will remember as taking place in the Greek class-room. "He was a very Rupert in debate," says an old friend, "charging and slashing out in all directions with unaffected enthusiasm and delight," yet wary as a hawk and ever ready to deal out punishment to those who tried to presume on his assumed recklessness. On one occasion a luckless Liberal spoke unguardedly of the Conservative Association.

"There's no such thing, sir," thundered Grant, "it's a club."

"Well, what's the difference?" was the reply.

The young Nova Scotian was on his feet in an instant, his nostril curled in scorn. "There's an association, gentlemen," he said, flinging out his left hand, the fingers hanging limp and separate; "there's a club," and at the word his closed fist shot out from the shoulder, fingers clenched, the whole posture suggestive of the total difference between limp individualism and the smashing power of united effort.

But there was no malice in his sallies, and he was always a fair fighter, scorning wire-pulling and

PRINCIPAL GRANT

trickery. "The Liberals," says Dr. Macrae, "found in him such an absence of all personal bitterness, such fairness, and such a spirit of hearty chivalry, that even those who were fiercest in their defence of the principles that Grant assailed, were amongst those who cherished the warmest affection and admiration for Grant himself." Few things ever gave him more pleasure than the presentation by the Liberal Association, when he was leaving the university, of an address and a handsome set of Shakespeare, for while he often drank deep of "delight of battle," while he loved to give and to take thrusts of the sharpest, he was ever loath to introduce personal feeling into the debate, and was the first, when the battle was over, to wish to bind up the wounds of any honourable antagonist.

His friend, Simon McGregor, tells of a meeting held in the Greek class-room, at which McGregor himself was president. Two Conservative speakers had vainly tried to make themselves heard, but had been compelled to retire. Feet were stamping, tin horns blowing, all the bedlam of a students' meeting had broken loose. "Grant was detained from the first part of the meeting; he came in, however, just as it was his turn to speak. As he came forward and began his address it seemed as if he also must depart, for the noises continued and the din but little abated. He appealed for a hearing, but for a moment in vain. I noticed, however, his eyes flash, and instantly he sprang on the book-board, and

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

stretched out his hand. In a few moments he gained complete control of his noisy and excited audience, and held it during the course of a moderately long speech, so as to render the hearing of the proverbial falling pin actually possible. At the end of his speech the whole audience sprang to their feet, calling for 'Three cheers for Grant,' in which Liberals and Conservatives alike most heartily joined."

So great, indeed, were his triumphs that a lifelong friend doubts whether in later years his oratory gained greatly in any essential particular, though he notes a tendency to "boisterousness," which later on calmed down.

Boisterousness there probably was in one so brimful of spirits, of the mere healthy physical joy in life. No matter how late up at night, he was sure to be bright and lively in the morning. The genial roar of his laughter was like a tonic to tired souls. In athletics he was prominent, being throughout his whole course a member of the university football team, and for some years its captain. On the football green he is said to have been ardent and untiring, full of wiles and of dash, and perfectly regardless of injuries, either to himself or to his opponents. He fell into frequent scrapes, out of which his elverness usually extricated him. On one mid-winter day a fierce snow-ball fight began opposite the college gates between some younger students, and a crowd of boys and grinning lads in

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the street. In the course of it one small student—conspicuous in his scarlet college gown—had thrown a snow-ball which struck a big lad full in the eye. In sudden passion the big fellow dropped his snow-ball, rushed at the boy and began to pummel him unmercifully. At this moment Grant appeared at the college gate with his books under his arm. The instant he saw what was going on he handed his books to another student, fought his way quickly to the heart of the crowd, and went for the bully. So fierce was his attack that the blood spurted out over the snow, and a policeman arriving arrested Grant on a charge of stabbing. He was soon bailed out by his fellow-students, but was compelled to appear next day to stand his trial. "The police court was flooded with students," says Dr. Macrae, "the younger set of whom, in their enthusiasm over Grant, had conceived the wild idea, if he were condemned, of swarming over the barriers, overwhelming the police, and carrying Grant forth to liberty. As it turned out, there was fortunately no occasion for attempting this mad feat. He stated the circumstances with such effect, and his statement was so fully corroborated, that the magistrate not only dismissed the case, but said something in the way of complimenting him on his chivalrous intervention. The students applauded, swarmed out with Grant, escorted him to the college court, and after a rousing cheer in his honour and another in honour of the magistrate, dispersed."

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

He lived economically, but creditably, for he was well connected, especially on his mother's side ; his holidays he spent in various ways, sometimes roving through the country, never without a volume in his pocket of Horace, Thucydides, Racine or Carlyle ; sometimes joining a reading party in a quiet Highland glen ; on two occasions, at least, filling his scanty purse by acting as tutor in private families. A series of rules, or rather, of demands made by him upon the parents, found in an old college note-book, seems to show that this last occupation was not always a bed of roses.

"A belief that I have the boy's best interests at heart, and that I in the schoolroom must know better than any one out of it, the circumstances of a case and what ought to be done.

"A belief that I am not a tyrant ; that I will punish only for impertinence, and then not by touching the head or any part whence injury could result.

"A belief that when a howl is heard, it is caused not so much by pain, as (by the frequent confession of the children themselves) by a wish to attract the sympathy or interference of their mother. Pity that there ever should be mad yelling. But for such I certainly am not to blame.

"1. Absolute refusal to hear tales. If anything goes wrong or any information wanted, an explanation to be asked from me.

"2. Punishment outside the schoolroom for im-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

pertinence or intentional howling, in the shape of sending the offender early to bed, and showing him that he is under a sentence of moral disapprobation everywhere, and that it is not his teacher who is a tyrant, but rather his own sin. No petting or coddling as a prize for crying loudest.

“3. An understanding that I may leave at a week’s warning if these rules are broken either in spirit or in the letter.”

As was natural, the young Nova Scotian at once made acquaintance with the city clergy, and soon after his arrival definitely joined the Barony Church, of which Norman Macleod was minister. The personality of “Norman of the Barony,” soon became the most vital force in his life. No other living man ever had the same deep and far-reaching influence on him that was held by Norman Macleod. “He was the greatest man I have ever known,” he would often say. Ever since, in 1845, Norman had been one of the delegation sent out by the kirk of Scotland to visit the shepherdless sheep in Nova Scotia and Canada, he had retained a kindly remembrance of the colony, and more especially of Pictou county, where the most successful of a series of successful meetings had been held. He soon saw the genius that lay hidden in young Grant, took him into his great heart, introduced him to his home, made him his friend. This kindness Grant repaid with a love, deep, tender and life-long. Despite his great flow of language, he was not a man who talked much of

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

his own emotions; but when, in 1872, Norman Macleod passed away, even Grant's trust in God's providence was for a moment shaken.

Through Macleod, Grant became greatly interested in the work of the city missionaries in the foul wynds and closes and vennels of Glasgow. Sabbath in the purlieus of a Scottish city in those days must have been like a peep into a very squalid inferno. A strict sabbatarianism closed all places of amusement, forbade all street cars or omnibuses, and indeed all wheeled vehicles to be seen in the streets, and would not even allow pedestrians to appear unless garbed in decent black. As a result, the poorer classes, unable to get to the country, without clothes suitable for church-going, remained indoors, stewing in the fetid air of their ill-ventilated, over-populated warrens, driving away ennui by steady whiskey-drinking, which terminated towards nightfall in sodden orgies of vice and crime. While Grant never sympathized with "the American Sunday," and opposed Sunday street cars in Kingston and in Halifax, his recollections of those awful Sabbaths in Glasgow made him ready to assist all reverent methods of freeing the Lord's Day from the trammels of an out-worn asceticism.¹

He also did mission work in the parish of Cathcart, under the superintendence of the parish minister,

¹ Of Sunday street cars in Toronto and Montreal he approved, deeming them necessary to take the poorer classes into the suburbs and adjoining country.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Dr. Smith, a grand old survival of the Moderate party, who died only a few years ago, when well over ninety. On the conclusion of his labours at Cathcart, the teachers of the Sunday school and other friends presented him with a gold watch and chain, which he wore to the day of his death, and which is still, after many an accident amid the Rocky Mountains or in far Australia, apparently as sound as ever.

To the influence of Norman Macleod is probably, in large measure, to be ascribed the warm attachment which Grant came to feel for the Established Church of Scotland. He had left Nova Scotia in a state of discouragement. The abandonment of the cause in 1844 by the kirk ministers, and still more, the exaggerated stories spread throughout the colonies by numerous Free Kirk delegations as to the number of the seceders, and the mercenary motives of those who had remained within the Establishment, had not been without their influence. Landing in Scotland, he found the Establishment recovering from the staggering blow of the disruption; the standard of her preaching set by such men as John Caird and Norman Macleod; her endowment fund, under Professor Robertson, rising to proportions equal to those of the sustentation fund of her opponents; while the Frees were being beset with difficulties peculiarly their own, and proving, as was shown by the celebrated Cardross case, not really so free from the jurisdiction of the

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

state as those whom they had been wont to call "the crouching Erastians of the Establishment."

In 1859 Grant became Scottish correspondent for the *Record*,¹ and from these early productions, full of the breezy outspokenness and charming, though occasionally impertinent, dogmatism of youth, we can gather his attitude on the question of church Establishment, and, indeed, can see foreshadowed along many lines the conclusions of his more mature mind. Many things in the Free Church commanded his admiration; its splendid liberality to home and foreign missions, and to the sustentation fund; its evangelical zeal and fervour; above all, the self-sacrifice which had moved many of the noblest men in the nation to leave houses and lands and assured incomes for conscience sake, like their ancestors of old, and to preach the gospel by lonely moors and foam-swept sea-beaches, rather than submit to what they considered the unjust yoke of the state. But he came increasingly to dislike the Puseyism, the tendency to priest-craft, of their leaders. Thus he says: "Nothing can be more deplorable than when a priestly love of power causes it to trespass on the inalienable rights and functions of the state, or even to view such with a harsh and jealous eye. Ecclesiastical rule in temporal affairs was never intended by God, and the only

¹ "The *Record* of the Synod of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland," first published in 1855 by the Rev. A. Pollok.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

perfect specimen of such a government that we have, in the papal states, is not calculated to make the world fall hopelessly in love with it." This tendency of ecclesiastical courts to pay no heed to the sanctity of temporal contracts he saw exemplified in the Cardross case, of which his letters are full.

Connected with their Puseyism went a logical drawing towards Voluntaryism, which he considered far less suitable for such a country as Scotland than an Establishment. In Canada, the entire difference in local conditions and in history made him a strong Voluntary, but wherever an Established Church was possible, he considered that it tended to give a broad sanity to religion, whereas the Voluntary tended to become hysterical. Not only was it a fine thing to see the state recognizing the religion of Christ as its true and indeed its only abiding foundation, but he considered that an Establishment had an uplifting influence alike on minister and on congregation. On the one hand the minister was more independent of his congregation and needed not to truckle to their whims. The Free Church, as he said, seemed to be coming to the conclusion that non-intrusion meant not only the right to *keep out* an unacceptable presentee, but also to *put out* any one who offended the prejudices of the majority. On the other hand, "the iron hoop of the Establishment" kept down the ineradicable tendency of religious parties to arrogate to themselves the possession of all truth, and to expel, in the name of

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

the Lord, all who could not see eye to eye with them.

Grant was also deeply offended by the intolerance of many, even among the leaders of the Free Church,—their wish to unchurch men whom he revered with all his soul. He speaks of “the foul calumnies” directed against those who remained faithful in ’48 merely because they “preferred well-defined constitutional rights to being above the law.” The excited language of those who accused the Establishment of “plucking the crown from the Saviour’s brow,” woke no response in him. He notices, especially among “The Men,”¹ in the Highlands “atrocious instances of uncharitableness, and dark unchristian virulence, too often manifested by the leaders of the flock.” “In other parts I found Free Churchism rampant, and the people darkly, deeply filled—not with the enthusiasm which is pervasive and beautiful, but with the fanaticism which is stern and fierce.”

When fanaticism and Voluntaryism joined in the political attempt to dis-establish the church, and to bring about equality, like Reynard in the fable, by making all alike tailless, his generous anger was so moved that in 1872 he declares:—“We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the Free Church has almost from her birth nourished two serpents in her

¹ A name given to the elders and a few influential communicants, who very often in the North of Scotland formed an oligarchy before whom the minister was powerless.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

bosom—spiritual pride, and political ambition.” So that, greatly as he revered men like Macdonald of Ferintosh, “the Apostle of the Highlands,” Guthrie, or most of all the Olympian Chalmers, seven years’ experience confirmed and deepened his love for the church of his fathers, and in his letters he recurs again and again to the attempt to hearten the struggling remnant in Nova Scotia by the thought of the noble strength of their mother over-seas. After an account of church extension in Glasgow, he breaks out :—“Will any of your readers say that a church which has done so much noble work in one presbytery is dead, or possesses but a galvanized activity? Will they not rather love their dear old mother kirk the more, seeing that she is worthy of their love? Yes! She has always been in my sight ‘the fairest of the daughters of the Reformation’; she has been in the fire, but not been consumed; the floods have swept away many a buttress, and many a polished shaft; but she was built of ‘living stones’; a principle of life was ever in her; and so she sent forth stronger supports, goodlier pillars; her walls are hung with well worn trophies, and memorials of our great ancestors; and dishonoured be the Scot at home or abroad, who feels no gratitude, no reverence, for the church of his fathers.”

These forgotten letters are full of lively pen pictures of men and events. The very first sentence reveals the delightful cocksureness of the Pictou man. “And so you have by no means given up the

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

Record. It is still to be an institution—a welcome messenger of what's doing on God's side to all the members of our church. I am very glad to hear of it; all the more so, because the pluck, and therefore the credit, is to be set down to the score of Pictou. Long live the county of Pictou!"

He sketches with considerable frankness the leaders of the time in the Scottish Church. "Mr. Smith of Grey Friars, a plain, heavy-looking man, defended himself in a very fair speech, very badly delivered. Dr. Pirie, who appeared for the synod, is quite a different style of man. With a strongly-marked, rather plebeian expression of countenance, and strong Aberdonian accent, he is sure to attract a stranger's attention. There is a good deal of humour, and still more cheeriness about his face, and both his head and his speeches indicate plenty of hard, clear, logical talent. If he commenced an argument with one, I am certain he would argue fiercely all night, never be at all out of humour, and perhaps end with confessing that he had proved more than he had intended."

Of Robertson of Ellon, afterwards professor at Edinburgh University, and the organizer of the endowment fund, he says: "Robertson is an extraordinary man; one of those self-educated prodigies of whom Scotland has ever had her fair share. First a ploughman; then a school-master; then a minister; now a D.D., a professor, a Dean of the Chapel Royal, and one of the leaders of the church.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

A man possessed of sound common sense to an extent rare in these days, and of irresistible energy; proved by the fact that he has raised three hundred and forty thousand pounds for the endowment scheme; yet with a crudity of ideas on some points that is perfectly charming. He has the largest head I have ever seen, and the strongest lungs I have ever known. At two o'clock in the morning, after hard work all day, he will still speak with the same invincible freshness and strength which has hours before wearied out his opponents on other questions; and next morning he is first at the assembly. His Aberdonian accent is perfect, and he seems proud of it."

Of the Ulster revival, which was then running its course, and which the still powerful remnant of the Moderates were inclined to distrust, he speaks with high praise. "Some medical men, hundreds of miles away, coolly declare that it is all the result of atmospheric influence, or subtle sympathetic contagion; but it has been well remarked that if the fruits of epidemics be a lessening of drunkenness, vice, and party spirit, along with increased love, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, we should all pray with great earnestness for epidemics. The Dean of Down, I am told, has also preached against the whole revival on the true Puseyite ground that it has not taken place within and by means of 'the Church'¹; and also, because the return of the prodi-

¹ He afterwards came to have a juster view of the value of the

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

gal son is the only type of true conversion ; and there not being, in his case, any violent and physical display, neither should any such be tolerated in any other case. Truly man, in his argumentings upon God's operations, often

Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep.

For what can be more irreverent or foolish than to seek to limit or mathematically define the manner of the Spirit's workings? Neither at the same time are we required to consider everything that happens at a revival as genuine. The question is not 'How much chaff is there,' but rather, 'Have you any wheat?' and if the work be of God doubtless the devil will try to spoil it by engrafting his own upon it. But he that is wise will try the spirits."¹

While at the West River Seminary, he had formed a friendship with a youth two or three years older than himself, now the Rev. Professor John Currie, of the Presbyterian College, Halifax. Some of the many letters which passed between them have been preserved, and give a vivid picture of his mental and spiritual development.²

Puseyite movement. See "Reformers of the Nineteenth Century," published in 1886. His earlier attitude was probably due to the influence of Carlyle.

¹ His desire for *equable* growth, and perhaps a larger experience of the ways and personal habits of so-called revivalists, made him, in later days, rather distrustful of such manifestations. "I never knew a professional revivalist that was perfectly sincere," he said once—"Except Moody," he added, with emphasis.

² See appendix A.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

In the summer of 1860 Grant took his testamur in theology at Glasgow University, and in the autumn of the same year went with William Mc-Millan for a tour upon the continent. Starting from Leith, the two friends landed at Rotterdam, passed through the cities of Holland and Belgium, up the Rhine to Frankfort, then through Nuremberg, Munich, and the cities of southern Germany to Turin and Venice. They had intended to take in Rome, but funds ran short, and they returned by way of Paris, which Grant seems to have thought garish and vulgar after the Old World towns of Bavaria and Piedmont. A diary which he kept shows great keenness of perception, and powers of historical imagination, as well as an extensive knowledge of continental art and architecture. In every town the first building to which he turned his steps was the picture gallery, the next the cathedral, and he criticizes not only with insight and common sense, but with a surprising knowledge alike of the history and the technique of modern and mediæval art. At Frankfort he says: "Next, to the museum, where I saw the pride of the city, Danneker's 'Ariadne on the Panther.' The panther is not very good; the body seems too small in comparison with that of Ariadne; and its legs are thicker than those of any panther that I ever saw. But Ariadne is so perfect that criticism seems like injustice; she is the model of female beauty and form. The rosy sunlight from the window

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

above makes her look warm and living; soon after, when the sun was obscured, she appeared, indeed, the cold marble, yet then I admired her equally. Her head is not set on her body, it grows out of it, the natural development and glory of the whole. You see in her what an organism is; she is not built up; she is, has been, and will remain *one*, a person; her unity appears everywhere. You can't separate one limb and criticize it. You must deal with the soul of the being.

"Next, to the cathedral; saw first, in the Dom Platz, Luther's house, the ground floor now a shop, distinguished by a bust on the outside, rude and unpainted, certainly, yet truthful and striking. Luther was so intense an individuality that every portrait must have caught—could not fail to catch—somewhat of the man. Here we have him the hearty, laughter-loving, humorous companion; the broad face and kindly brown eyes beaming with jollity and frankness. In Cranach's portrait of him, though I fear it is only a copy of it which I have seen, we have rather the theologian represented. His face is more angular, the expression is intense, but not so broad and expansive. He is Luther, trying against his nature to bind all humanity within a sect by the inelastic bonds of the schoolmen, which he had himself derided. In his portrait by Fleischmann, he is the great human Luther again, but there is a gloom, a noble sorrow about the face. He is older; the lights in the eyes are not so bright

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and lightsome; he has fought hard the battle of life, and, though victorious, has found that the devil is strong in his foes, his friends, and himself. And the end he feels is not yet; but he is weary and longs for rest. Courage, brave soul! For such as thee there is rest."

Luther was always to Grant the most epoch-making man of modern times. In his diary at Worms occurs this extract: "As one walks to and from the cathedral, one perpetually thinks of that great day, some three hundred and thirty-nine years ago, when Luther passed bravely up the streets, the people crowding the windows and the housetops, and exhorting him not to give way; and in the venerable cathedral, even then seven or eight centuries old, the stalls filled with the nobles and great churchmen, the side chapels with works which linked the forgotten great ones of forgotten ages with the religion and ceremonial against which he, a poor monk, was now at feud; what strife must have raged within his breast! How firm a stand must he have taken on the rights of the conscience and the immutable truth of God's word, when all the mundane forces could not shake him. It was not prison, the rack, or physical death that Luther was called on to condemn. Many a man has done that before, and many do it every day. But he was summoned in the sight of men and God—he, the human-hearted, trustful, and many-sided Luther—to tear up from the soul its all but deepest feelings,

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

and to weigh them out as nothing in comparison with truth, to sever himself from history and human development, to say to princes and cardinals, to popes and councils, to the embodied Church of God on earth, 'You are deluded, and I only am right'; to say this not as a mathematician who had proved it in demonstrable quantities, nor as a dogmatist who could only see his little atom of truth, but not the whole edifice, nor as an enthusiast whose vanity and heat made him regardless of the claims and voice of general humanity; but as a thinking soul, tremblingly sensitive to the awful magnitude of the step he was making, resolute to go on only because he realized the unseen. Do you think that the task was easy—that it was not the hardest ever given to man on earth? Then you understand not Luther, and you have never proved yourself. As I stood before the high altar at Worms, and then looked down the long length of the nave where the rich lights streamed from the round window, and summoned around me the times and the voices of the past, I felt that even with the additional knowledge and strength of the present, in such an hour of trial and temptation, I would have compromised."

Of his exhaustless energy, which sometimes proved a little too much for his comrades, the following is a sample, written at Innsbruck, October 3rd :—

"Up at 4, and after a refection of sandwiches and

PRINCIPAL GRANT

schnapps, set off for the Brenner, but after walking a mile I remembered that I had not packed my flannel shirt in my bag, and so I had to return. Off again at 5; and after walking two or three miles, attempted a short cut, which failed me at a village in the country, and I was obliged to retrace my steps, not sorry, however, that I had wandered, as I had a magnificent view of the sunrise upon the white hills at the back of Innsbruck. Walked on thirty-five miles to Sterzing, which I reached at 8.30 o'clock, having stopped on the way half an hour for coffee, another quarter for wine, and when over the Brenner (a pretty long, stiff pull) another half for soup. At 4.30 the diligence reached Sterzing, J. J. with my bag ripped and my new plaid torn in two or three places; he having been too much engaged in attending to two English ladies to take any care of them. We then agreed to walk across the hills to Hofer's house and Meran; but just when starting it was discovered that J. J. had let his bag go on in the diligence to Brixen. Again we had to change our plans, and to set off for Brixen after the diligence. Darkness soon descended, and after a walk of ten miles, J. J. knocked up entirely. So we entered a village inn, supped, and went to bed for a few hours, when the next diligence would be passing."

In December, 1860, the four friends were ordained by the presbytery of Glasgow as missionaries for Nova Scotia. Speeches were made by Principal Hill

STUDENT LIFE AT GLASGOW

and by Norman Macleod, the latter saying that while "one of them was not able to speak Gaelic, he would back his friend, Mr. Grant, against any man for speaking in the English language." So high was Grant's reputation, so strong the personal friendship between the two men, that Macleod had offered to the young colonial the position of his assistant. His refusal was the turning point in his life. The pulpits emptied at the disruption were not yet all filled, and any young minister of ability did not long lack a lucrative appointment. Had Grant taken the position of assistant at the Barony Church, his career would have been played upon a larger stage, before a more brilliant audience, and under circumstances of far greater comfort. But his duty to his native land called him with a voice that could not be denied, and on January 11th, 1861, he landed again in Nova Scotia.¹

¹ On their departure a dinner was given by a number of their fellow-students to the four Nova Scotians. Of this an amusing account was sent by their Glasgow correspondent to some of the English papers:—

"We are losing at present one or two of the best students of our university. I say, 'losing' because, as you know, the Scottish universities have neither fellowships nor anything else by which their distinguished students may be retained after the present course of study is completed. The students we are losing this session are Nova Scotians, who, for six or seven years back, have been amongst our best men in arts and divinity, and are now returning whence they came. George Monro Grant is the foremost of them. Grant is a splendid fellow, the realized ideal of Kingsley's muscular Christian. Whatever he undertook he achieved. His courage was indomitable, his energy absolutely irresistible. If a prize was offered for competition, Grant went in for it; if the medicals engaged in a football conflict with us, no 'kick' was so form-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

idable to them as Grant's. He was a foremost man in all his classes, the best debater, the best orator, and the best canvasser in college. Not that his natural abilities were unequalled, but that he made the best of them, concentrated his powers on everything, and when he worked at all worked like a Hercules. . . . The rising of Grant to reply was the signal for another outburst, more deafening and prolonged than the last. Through the din there presently became audible the well-known voice of Grant, but very hoarse and sepulchral. It turned out that he had a bad cold, and must be excused from making a long speech. He recalled his first impressions of college and college friends. When he looked around, he said, he could see some of the old familiar faces, but most of them were gone. One old classmate was now a professor in Nova Scotia, one was a fellow in Oxford, others were in Germany, others in India, and others, alas, had gone to their long homes, and oblivion had swallowed them up. He was grieved to leave the old college, endeared by so many fond associations ; but he consoled himself with the reflection that he was going out to fight the battle for which college had been designed to prepare him. His motto in college had been : 'What thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might.' That would be his rallying cry in the battle of life, and would, he hoped, be ours."

CHAPTER III

CHURCH AND EDUCATION

DESPITE much devoted labour on the part of both ministers and laymen, Grant found his native church in a very unsatisfactory condition. She was, indeed, hardly a native church at all, but rather a foreign mission, officered largely by Scotchmen, and supported in great measure by the funds of the colonial committee of the mother church. There was no native ministry, and thus an utter dearth of catechists or divinity students to do the work of church extension, so essential in a widely scattered, thinly settled community. Herein she contrasted very unfavourably with her Free Church and U.P. rivals, whose institutions at the West River and elsewhere had given them a native-trained ministry, which was doubtless in many respects crude, but which was numerous, enterprising, and in full touch with the thoughts, difficulties and aspirations of the people of the province. The home church was in no state to send an adequate supply of ministers to Nova Scotia, and those who came were in many respects unsuited for work in a new country, proved unable to adapt themselves to the altered conditions, and, after a few years of discontent, returned home.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Especially galling to one of Grant's nature was their financial dependence upon the colonial committee of the home church. From his mother he inherited a horror of debt; the first money he earned in Nova Scotia was devoted to repaying to the Young Men's Scheme every penny which he had drawn from it. That the church in the Maritime Provinces, with wealthy congregations at Halifax and St. John, should live upon the donations of a committee which drew its funds largely from the offerings of the poor of Scotland, that Nova Scotia should pay her ministers from the savings of Edinburgh servant lasses and Paisley weavers, seemed to him an outrage. In May, 1861, he says: "Instead of two ministers, the Church in Prince Edward Island should count at least four; but better that it should remain as it is than that it should burden the colonial committee longer. We have been too long, in matters financial, under tutors and governors; it is high time that we should begin to keep house for ourselves, and at our own expense. It is not pleasant to be taunted with the receipt of 'foreign money,' when our people are as able and as willing to pay as any other denomination in the provinces."

The difficulties under which this lack of a native ministry placed the church, he sums up in an article in the *Record* for 1865:—

"In 1841 the Kirk had as many ministers and nearly twice as many people as the Seceders, so

CHURCH AND EDUCATION

much had the last immigrations from Scotland told in our favour, even though the other body had been the first to enter the field.¹ Now, we have some twenty congregations, and twenty thousand adherents; the other body has five times our number of congregations and settled ministers, and more than three times the number of our adherents. That is surely a sad reversal of positions, and sufficient to make every true son of the church inquire into the reasons of our comparative decline, and endeavour to supply a remedy. Of course, the great reason of our present weakness was the disruption, in 1844, of our church here, many of our ministers forming the Free Church then, and others of them flocking to vacant parishes in Scotland. But would such a fatal disruption have occurred here had we then possessed a native ministry? Of course not; and should there ever again be a similar demand for ministers at home, would we not be exposed to a similar desertion and shipwreck?

“The Free Church, again, in 1849, was not nearly so strong as we, either in the wealth, intelligence or compactness of its adherents; but it was able to discern the ‘signs of the times,’ and therefore asked aid from Scotland, not to subsidize foreign agents, but to train up native ones. And now, look at the position of the united body. It has ninety-four organized congregations, only eighteen of which are

¹ In 1862 the figures were:—Church of Scotland, 19,063; Church of the Lower Provinces, 69,456.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

not absolutely self-sustaining; and yet it is still satisfied with a Hall in which only one professor gives the whole of his time to the work, the other two being settled pastors. Again, that we may look on this side, and then on that, and mark the contrast, I point to the fact that, whereas, in 1854, the Free Church and Secession together had only forty self-sustaining congregations, and they have now about eighty, we who then had seven, have now, according to Mr. McKay, only nine. And the same argument applies with still greater force to New Brunswick.

“It has been said that we can get men from Scotland, if we only offer inducements sufficient. Why, there is no church in the Lower Provinces that has offered half the inducement that ours has, that has expended half so much on home missions, in proportion to its numbers, or that has been so continually disheartened by desertions. It is not men only that we need, but men adapted for the work to be done, men who will cast in their lot with us and take what the country can give. During the last seven years in which the other body has so much increased, twelve or thirteen ministers have left us. The outfit and passage money, alone, of those came to more than one thousand pounds—for one of them was sent out twice, some of them brought wives, and the return passage of some was paid. They each and all received, while here, one hundred and eighty-seven pounds ten shillings *per*

CHURCH AND EDUCATION

annum ; and where now are to be seen the fruits of their labour ? On our home missions, last year, the colonial committee expended over seven hundred pounds sterling, and there was raised, for the same purpose, in the province, over two hundred pounds, —that is, in all, double of what the united body, with its ninety-four congregations, expends. Can these facts be scoffed away ? I do not mean to disparage the ministers that came to us from Scotland. As a class they were very able men. Some of them worked nobly ; one of them has been promoted to be principal of Queen's University ; although an 'ecclesiastic,' who does not know half of our ministers in these provinces, volunteers the impertinence that he does not think that we have now one man who could teach divinity ; others have had the offers of splendid appointments in Scotland and Canada ; but the system has been bad in itself, and has therefore worked badly. Men received the old country training for old country appointments. They came here believing in an Established Church, and had to work Voluntaryism of the extremest type ; they were repelled by the alien sympathies, tones of thought and habit they encountered ; climate, the extent of the country, and the nature of the work all told against them. To their honour be it recorded that many persevered, and at length triumphed over all difficulties, winning the confidence of the people, and being regarded as fathers in every tribe of Israel. But, where one remained,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

two went away—some disgusted, others wearied, and others—not because they loved us little, but because they loved their own country more,—bidding a sorrowful good-bye. Under such a system can the church ever take root in the land? Will not every year make the difficulty greater, for the coming generation will be more Nova Scotian and less Scottish than the preceding; and they who will not meet the sympathies of the people, will enter the race heavily weighted, and will be obliged to give up the contest, to which they ought not to have been summoned. Not that I consider that Scottish born or Scottish educated ministers will not be required in the future. They will always be welcome. If our thoroughly organized congregations prefer them, as we often see to be the case in the sister church, and in our own church in Canada, they will contribute a valuable element to our strength, and help to keep up the kindly ties, that, I trust, will ever link us to the mother church. Thus, the fact that they could have had native ministers did not prevent Chalmers' Church, Halifax, or St. Andrew's, Montreal, from sending to Scotland for pastors. But, though city congregations could do that, will not every one acknowledge that our church in Canada would be a mere fragment, were it not for Queen's College, and that the church of the Lower Provinces would not possess half its present strength had it not been for their Theological Hall? Those who heard the late Dr.

CHURCH AND EDUCATION

Leitch, when he visited us two years ago, must remember with what earnestness he sought to inculcate these sentiments, and how he repeatedly stated that they had been indebted for the formation of almost every new charge in Canada to the students of Queen's College."

From the historic charm and Old World culture of Scotland and the continent, to the primitive conditions and continuous petty hardships of a Nova Scotian mission-station was a change which must have taxed Grant's courage. But no word of complaint broke from his lips, no thought of dissatisfaction or regret clouded his cheery spirit; he had made his choice, and he flung himself into the work of his native province with the same buoyant confidence and whole-hearted enthusiasm with which he had plunged into the fervour and turmoil of a rectorial election.

He was at first appointed by the presbytery to work in the mission field of River John, a scattered Highland community about fifteen miles west of Pictou. His first sermons were preached in the U.P. and Methodist Churches, but it was not long before his energy roused the people to build for themselves. When finished, the church was named St. George's, not, as the congregation expressly stated in writing, after St. George of Cappadocia, but after George Monro Grant, who had been a very saint to them in their day of adversity. To this early canonization Grant often referred with

PRINCIPAL GRANT

humorous pride. For River John and its true-hearted Highlanders he retained a deep affection, and often in after years altered his plans to spend the Sunday with them. Of one of his later visits a touching incident is told. He was staying with the minister of the village, and, after the two had spent a long day in visiting, on their return to the manse late in the evening, they were told by his host's wife of a lad living about a mile away, who had met with an accident which had resulted in the loss of his left hand. Grant immediately asked if they could not go to see him that night. It was replied that the place was too far away, and the night was too dark to think of doing this, and the conversation turned to another subject. Soon, however, Grant spoke again of the sufferer, and the upshot of the conversation was that he and his host started with a lantern to visit the boy. When they arrived at the house Grant sat down beside the boy and began to cheer him up. Removing the black mitten with which the stump of his own maimed hand was habitually covered, he showed this to the boy, saying: "I would not be where I am to-day if I had not lost my hand"; and then he added, "You are more fortunate than I am, for you have only lost your left hand, while I lost my right."

After about three months at River John he was removed to Prince Edward Island. His unflagging zeal in this presbytery is still remembered. By February, 1862, his efforts had built and opened at

CHURCH AND EDUCATION

St. Peter's Road, six miles from Charlottetown, a church capable of accommodating over two hundred people. Before the end of the summer it was free from debt, and had guaranteed to pay half of the seven hundred and fifty dollars, which was the minimum stipend paid by the church in Nova Scotia to a minister. In January, 1868, another church, also free from debt, was opened at Brackley Point. He had thus, in eighteen months, built two churches and seen provision made for the payment of their incumbents. All this was in addition to the charge of his largest station, that of Georgetown, on the east coast of the island, thirty miles distant from the others. Here there was already a church-building, but the congregation consisted of a mere handful, discouraged by a succession of misfortunes. Before he left, it had become self-sustaining, no longer a burden on the colonial committee, but a contributor to every scheme of the synod; and a comfortable manse had been erected and paid for. In August and September, 1862, he was re-transferred by the synod to River John, but in September returned to Georgetown.

During his first winter in the island, an incident occurred which was very typical of the man. Awakening one Sunday morning he found that a storm which had been raging for several days had so increased in violence that the door of the house was blocked and the roads impassable. The church was nearly a mile away, and he was urged not to venture amid the

PRINCIPAL GRANT

trackless drifts. But as soon as breakfast was over, the young minister was out, and after a glorious wrestle with the snow, reached the church, dripping with perspiration. There was no sign of a congregation, so he again flung himself into the drifts, and finally reached the house of the sexton. Him he aroused and sent to the church to light a fire, and then to ring the bell. Meanwhile he himself, still unwearied, toiled to the houses of the nearest parishioners, dragged them out, and, having eventually collected a handful, delivered to them a long and eloquent discourse.¹

He was now to be transferred to a field of wider usefulness. St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, was the largest and most influential Presbyterian Church in the province. Founded in 1750, in the year following the first settlement of the city, by Lord Cornwallis, "for the Protestant dissenters," it is probably the first Non-conformist church in the world endowed by the British government. Originally known, after the celebrated New England divine, as Mather's Church, it changed its name early in the succeeding century; at about the same time the dissenting influence which had hitherto controlled it was ousted

¹ One native born elder was for a time distrustful of him, supposing him to be a Scotchman. His suspicions were dispelled by a walk together during the early winter, when Grant stepped so fearlessly and familiarly over the slippery ice that the old man said in delight: "Ye canna be a Scotchman; nae Scotchman walks on ice that way." "Oh no," said Grant, "I'm a Pictou man." Their friendship was sealed from that moment.

CHURCH AND EDUCATION

by the later Church of Scotland arrivals, though a relic of the older element persisted, till well on in Grant's pastorate, in the use of Watt's hymns.¹ Its constitution still retains a strong Congregational element, and on one occasion the refusal of the people to obey the wishes of the presbytery so disgusted Grant, that he told them publicly that if he had read their constitution in time he would never have accepted the call.

His predecessor in the charge was the Rev. John Scott, of Jedburgh, Scotland, who had been inducted in 1826. A fine specimen of the gentleman and the scholar, Scott had weakened his influence by a distant and retiring manner, which effectually veiled from the congregation the love and devotion of which his heart was full. He was now growing old and feeble, and cordially joined in the desire of his people to open up negotiations with the young missionary whose zeal was attracting so much attention. Scott's name is first in the unanimous "call" of the congregation, and till assured that his consent had been given freely and without pressure, Grant declined to consider the matter. The congregation first opened up negotiations with a view to obtaining him as assistant and probable successor, but

¹ The present church was erected in 1857-8. When the site was purchased from the Anglican bishop of the diocese, he added a stipulation that if any other building was erected on any portion of the property, the purchaser should be subject to a fine of \$2,000. Hence, to this day, there is no separate school-house or lecture hall, and the Sunday school is held in the basement of the church.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Grant scouted the idea. Though as yet only a missionary, and not formally inducted to any charge, he felt that he owed a duty to the people of Georgetown, who had been so loyal to him, and he would not leave them for any probability. He was then requested to preach a trial sermon, but this he absolutely refused to do.¹ Finally on December 4th, 1862, an unconditional and unanimous call was sent, and on May 18th, 1863, the young minister, not yet twenty-eight, was formally inducted into the charge.

From the moment of his return to Nova Scotia, he had taken a deep interest in the work of the synod, and had been a regular attendant and frequent speaker at its meetings. As has been already shown, he at once saw that the most important question before it was that of the practicability of producing a native-trained ministry. The West River Seminary of the United Presbyterian Church, in which instruction was given both in arts and divinity, had been transferred in 1858 to more commodious quarters at Truro; in 1848 the Free Church had founded an academy and divinity school

¹ One of his most frequent and most forcibly expressed pieces of advice to his divinity students in later days was: "Never consent to preach a trial sermon. You are servants of God, not petty shopkeepers huckstering your wares. If they wish to know what spirit you are of, let them question your professors and fellow-students; if you have already preached, whether on a mission field or in a settled charge, let them go there and enquire as to your walk and conversation; let them send a delegation to hear you in your own pulpit, but never cheapen your manhood by preaching to a congregation on trial."

CHURCH AND EDUCATION

at Halifax, the former of which was aided by the province. In 1860 these two bodies coalesced, becoming "The Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces," and establishing their theological hall at Halifax, their academy at Truro. To contend against this the Establishment had nothing but the Young Men's Scheme, which was uncertain and precarious, and deprived the synod of all use of the students during their seven years of study.

Moreover, in Grant's mind, the question was bound up with that of the higher education of the province. A bitter discussion was at this moment raging in Nova Scotia, which culminated in the educational act of Dr. (now Sir Charles) Tupper, in 1864, a measure to which Grant gave his heartiest support, and which laid the foundation of that admiration for Tupper, which his conduct at confederation did so much to intensify. As the coping stone of the system of primary and secondary schools therein inaugurated, Grant's imagination saw rising a great provincial university, drawing to itself the resources of the struggling denominational institutions, free from all sectarian bias, and offering to every Nova Scotian the advantages of culture and of science. To bring about this end he at once bent himself, and he was not long in finding material to work upon. Early in the century, the lieutenant-governor, Lord Dalhousie, had appropriated a certain fund, known as Castine, the spoil of a forgotten raid during the war of 1812, to be devoted to the erec-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

tion of a provincial university, free from all religious tests, and in 1820 the corner-stone of Dalhousie College was laid. The building was completed some years later, but, with one brief exception, the history of the first forty years is the history of a building, and of the jangles of a board of governors, in which a prominent part was played by King's College, the stormy petrel of Nova Scotian education.

In 1838, Dr. McCulloch, transferred from Pictou Academy, did his best to galvanize it into activity, but died five years later, worn out and despairing, and Dalhousie fell back into chaos. This was the unpromising material with which Grant had to work. At the synod of June, 1862, he set about the task, and in August a vigorous article appeared in the *Record* over the well-known "G." "The history of Dalhousie College is a strange and chequered one. Intended, according to the terms of its endowment, to be formed on the model of the University of Edinburgh, but never yet realizing any grade higher than that of school, museum, post-office, lumber-room, or something of the sort, as the effeteness, or whims, or indifference of governments or of provincial public opinion drifted it; a standing reproach to Nova Scotia; a too truthful illustration of the shamelessness of our political morality, and of the Pharisaic sectarianism of our religion. Such are but poor omens for its future usefulness; and did we believe in fatality, ill-luck or auguries, we would say, have nothing to do with that ill-starred college.

CHURCH AND EDUCATION

But we believe in something higher than good or bad luck. Dalhousie College has never yet had a fair trial; let us give it one, if we are allowed. The buildings are solid, and in fair repair; the endowment amounts to about nine hundred pounds sterling a year; and the object aimed at in its institution is avowedly a purely secular education."

His plan was that the kirk should raise four thousand pounds to endow one chair, that the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces should be requested to merge their Truro institution in the revived university, that the government should endow three chairs out of the existing funds of the college, and that any other bodies or corporations which appeared willing, should be allowed to take part upon reasonable terms. He found an enthusiastic helper in the Rev. Allan Pollok; doubters were convinced or at least silenced; the synod was swung into line, and a deputation sent to the synod of the United Presbyterian Church, then in session. The spirit manifested by that body was, to the full, as noble as their own. Before the meeting adjourned the committee was able to report that they had conferred with the committee of the sister church, and had arrived at the following conclusions:—

1. That any religious body that endowed a chair should have a representative on the governing court of the college.

2. That any religious denomination that took part in the scheme should keep its funds under its

PRINCIPAL GRANT

own control, so that it might have perfect liberty to retire from the partnership whenever it considered that it was not dealt with in good faith.

8. That were a satisfactory arrangement made, the united body would be willing to give up its denominational institute at Truro.

So admirable was the spirit of the sister church that for a moment Grant dreamed that the other denominations might be induced to join in the endeavour. The hope was vain. King's was avowedly and on principle sectarian. Acadia College, Wolfville, the Baptist university, had been founded in 1888, as a protest against the bigotry of the Presbyterian and Episcopal governors of Dalhousie, and was in no mood either to unite with her rival, or to look with friendly eyes on the attempted resuscitation. Mount Allison, the Methodist institution established in 1858, at Sackville, was beyond the borders of the province, and though not unfriendly, refused to coalesce. The opposition of Acadia became so extreme that trouble in the legislature was threatened, and Grant roundly declared that the scheme would not be pushed forward unless it were assured of the unanimous support of both parties in both Houses. Acadia was finally pacified, and on April 29th, 1868, the bill for the reorganization of Dalhousie College became law. In June, 1868, the committees of the two Presbyterian Churches met and agreed that Dalhousie College "should be not a denominational but a provincial institution; that

CHURCH AND EDUCATION

no religious test should ever be enacted ; that the governors should be selected by the governor-in-council and be not removable at pleasure ; that any denomination, corporation, or individual, endowing or sustaining a chair or chairs, should be represented by an additional governor for every such chair, and that existing vacancies at the board should be filled up by suitable persons of other denominations, not Presbyterian."

The chair to be endowed by the kirk was that of mathematics, and Grant at once set about collecting funds. From his own congregation at St. Matthew's he obtained two thousand four hundred and ninety-four pounds of the four thousand pounds required, and most of the remainder was collected throughout the synod by himself. The chair was filled by Professor Charles Macdonald, a graduate of Aberdeen, who was, till his death in 1901, one of the two or three admitted to the inner circle of Grant's love and friendship.¹

In the revived university Grant took the deepest interest. He was at once elected one of the board of governors, a position which he held till 1885. At every convocation he was called upon for a speech, which usually took the form of the offer either of a

¹ On the death of the first occupants of the chairs, the church withdrew from Dalhousie to strengthen its own theological college at Pine Hill, Halifax, the funds originally contributed by its United Presbyterian branch, but the professorship of mathematics is still supported by the church and in great part from the money collected by Grant in 1863.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

subscription or of a prize to one of the departments in the university—arts, science or medicine. Later on, when the project of union with King's became prominent, he did all in his power to bring it to pass, but without success.

CHAPTER IV

THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

“**O**UR Young Men’s Scheme affords us an insufficient and uncertain supply of ministers ; and not only so, but it leaves uncared for the great mass of our intelligent young men who are in consequence obliged to obtain their higher education at the school of one of the other more enterprising sects. I saw one day in our synod three young ministers of the united body sitting in one pew there as strangers and foreigners, and I well knew that if such an institution had been established ten years ago, every one of those would now be a minister of our church, and would have sat there as a member of our highest church court. ‘Tis true, and pity is, ’tis true.’ But there is no use repining. We have to take warning, however ; and now let us work.”

This evil Grant now saw removed in part by the revival of Dalhousie ; his next thought was to obviate it altogether by the foundation of a theological hall at Halifax. To pay professors to devote themselves wholly to the work was impracticable, but he hoped that following the example of their Free Church brethren, the city ministers would be able to spare from their charges the time necessary

PRINCIPAL GRANT

for giving instruction in the hall, and that courses of lectures would be given for six or eight weeks in the year by outside ministers. He himself was willing to devote his services freely and fully to the work, and in 1865 the matter was brought up in the synod. Support was promised by the sister church of New Brunswick, and after much discussion a motion was passed, approving in general terms of the idea, and appointing a committee to consider the details more fully, and to present the result before the synod of 1866. Hardly had the meeting adjourned when a hot controversy arose. The Rev. W. M. Philip, minister of St. Paul's, Truro, and afterwards at Albion Mines, a man of distinct ability, but of no love for his adopted country, and not noted for accuracy in controversial matters, had alone opposed the overture at the synod, and even he had left the meeting before the final vote, which was therefore unanimous. In the September *Record* he attacked the proposed hall, stating that "the scheme was suddenly disclosed at the eleventh hour, at the fag end of the session, and slipped hurriedly through court." As moderator of the synod in 1865, Grant had taken no open part in the discussion, but he was known to be the real father of the scheme, and was convener of the committee appointed. In the October *Record*, he emphatically and indignantly disclaimed the charge of unfairness; others joined in the controversy, which grew so bitter that in December the com-

THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

mittee of management published the following decisions :—

1. That all communications intended for insertion in the *Monthly Record* must be submitted to the consulting committee ere they can be published.

2. That no communication containing personalities shall be published, until anything of this nature that may be considered objectionable shall have been expunged by the author.

3. That it is expedient that for the present all further controversy on the subject of the proposed Divinity Hall be discontinued.

Grant protested vigorously but without avail, though for the previous seven years no number of the *Record* had appeared without an article, either signed or unsigned, from his pen. When, in June, 1866, the committee reported, the supporters of the proposed hall did indeed win a Pyrrhic victory, but the opposition was so bitter that the project was left in abeyance. At the same time Grant's name was dropped from all committees, save that which *pro forma* continued in existence on the question of the theological hall.

The scheme was certainly open to grave criticism. The colonial committee looked coldly upon it, and would give no aid ; as a foreign mission to the New Hebrides had lately been organized at a cost of about four hundred pounds per year,¹ the financial

¹ It is interesting to note that the only opposition to this expansion of the church's usefulness came from Mr. Philip.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

question would have presented difficulties, though the amount needed was ridiculously over-estimated by Philip and his associates; the Young Men's Scheme, on which the opponents of the hall relied, had certainly produced some noble fruit, and the training at Glasgow or Edinburgh had on the best minds a culturing and refining influence superior to the results achieved in the native seminaries. But grave as were these objections, Grant's plan was the only one which, if successful, would have built up an indigenous church, and he was bitterly disappointed at its frustration, especially as he shrewdly suspected that more than one had been not a little moved by the Judas plea of Philip that the money would be better spent in raising the salaries of the present incumbents, and making their lot more comfortable, than on training "a dwarfish and feeble race" of divinity students and catechists.

Grant's defeat on this question, and his removal from the synodical committees, represents the culmination of a number of influences which had for some time been working against him. His outspoken desire to have the church in Nova Scotia stand upon her own feet had, not unnaturally, irritated the imperfectly acclimatized Scotchmen in the ministry; his "heinous crime of being a young man" made the grey-beards, even among the native-born, consider any one not deferring to their authority as dogmatic and overbearing; but the chief cause of his temporary defeat lay in his having "unfurled

THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

the banner of the free spirit." Ever since he landed he had been fighting the battle of freedom of thought with a verve and an audacity which had spared no sham however sacred, no prejudice however venerable. In 1861, writing on the tercentenary of the Reformed Scottish Church, he says :—

"What has Scotch protestantism done during the last three hundred years? Not so much in Scotland as might have been expected from its vitality. It has not converted to the national type of presbytery the upper classes, who are almost to a man Episcopalians. It has not protestantized those ten thousands of Irish Romanists who have flocked to its shores. It has not even rooted out the powerful remnants of popery that ever since the Reformation have possessed many fair portions of the land—in Glenlivet, Moidart, Uist, and in the south as well as the north. It has not been sufficiently generous and expansive to keep the whole family united under one roof-tree. And why has it thus not fulfilled its complete mission? Because when it became powerful, it was the first to deny its own spirit and principles. It became intolerant and persecuting. It bound itself with inelastic bands like those which it had indignantly cast off. And when the days of proscription and persecution had passed, the punishment of such unfaithfulness remained upon it. Thus does every institution as well as every man reap as it sows."

More vigorous, and more calculated to rouse

PRINCIPAL GRANT

opposition, were his attacks on the coldness, faint-heartedness, and bigotry of the clergy, on their willingness to rest contented in vain repetitions of formulæ which had lost all relation to the real life of the community, on the worldly wisdom which masked itself as piety. Preaching in 1866 to the assembled synod, he says:—

“Ministers the especial agents in this work of the regeneration of men, did I say ! Surely I am wrong—that is not their part in the present day. The minister’s duty now is to give no offence to saint or sinner ; to tread delicately lest he offend delicate sensibilities ; to make much of the people, and by indirect flattery make them think well of themselves that they may think well of him ; to be, in a word, an amiable, harmless creature, a dignified and respected wind-bag, from which shall proceed at regulation intervals sounds that shall be accepted as thunder, thunder without lightning, thunder warranted to hurt nobody. The minister’s work now is to crush his manhood out of him ; to have no opinions which differ from those entertained by any one he meets, and to have no opinions at all on matters of real life ; to strike at the vices of the absent, of other classes, other times ; to echo the cuckoo note of a barren orthodoxy, to strain at the gnats of heresy, and to be suspicious of scientific criticism and free thought. No, in the name of the living God, a thousand times no. Ministers are—ought to be—‘labourers together with God,’ stew-

THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

ards of his mysteries ; not servants of the people, in the sense in which the word is commonly understood, that is, hirelings doing so much work for so much wage. No, they are God's servants to serve men ; responsible, therefore, not to man but to their Master ; above their people in the Lord, though serving them. 'I magnify my office,'—not myself. In the ordinary work and relationships of life I am as one of my people, and would not dare to assume authority by clothing myself for common use with the sacredness of office. But as working with God I am an ambassador of Christ, and must speak as for Him whether men hear or whether they forbear."

Speaking in 1869, he says : "Of all these I have named, the one who has least education and fewest natural advantages is Mr. Moody, and yet in moving and really convincing men he stands head and shoulders above them all. The pulpit should set itself to learn the secret of his success. The secret is an open one, which all may easily learn. Convince men that you are disinterested and that you are in earnest, and they will hear you, provided always that you have got something to say and can say it directly and in the language of everyday life. If a minister of Christ is selfish and worldly, he disseminates infidelity more effectually than a regiment of sceptics. If he has no distinct message from the Lord to give, he had better step down and out. Unreality of language and tone, dogmas preached at second or third hand, dull platitudes

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and want of candour, all these abominations living men will no longer tolerate. They cry for reality, for frankness. If a man has no message to them from the unseen world, let him not pretend that he has. But the pulpit professes that it has. It is based on faith. Its very *raison d'être* is faith. The man of science can speak only of an unknown and unknowable God ; for Nature's face is veiled, and that veil no mortal has ever yet been able to draw aside. But faith cometh not of science. Faith is the vision of the unseen, faith assumes revelation. For, as Dr. Wallace said the other day in Edinburgh, 'Faith in an unknown and unknowable God is as meaningless as to speak of faith in Abracadabra.' Faith cries, 'God has spoken. We know Him that is true. This is life eternal to know God in Jesus Christ whom He hath sent.'"

Along with this fearless frankness went his lack of what was called evangelicalism ; a whisper grew that he was not "sound"; his cheery vitality, his utter lack of gloom, his sympathy with everything human was construed into a hazy universalism, a disregard of the vital principles of Calvinistic theology. On the first Sunday of 1865, he preached to his people on the text : " Rejoice, oh young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes ; but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee to judgment." The sermon was reprinted at the desire of

THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

the congregation, and reads to-day like the eloquent expression of a common-place.

“Man, as material and spiritual, is linked to two distinct worlds or systems of things. Duties devolve upon him from his relation to each, and it is the great practical difficulty of life to adjust the respective claims of the two. Human nature is one, but it is compound; and so different in kind is the one part of it from the other, that there often seems to be in man two natures, as there are in him two springs of action. On the one hand, man is flesh and blood, with impulses, appetites, passions, desires, craving for instant gratification, and he is in a beautiful world filled with objects and arrangements adapted and designed to meet all the hunger and thirst of his sentient nature, and thus to give him that gratification which, with all the imperiousness of instinct and necessity, he demands. But in this earthly there is a heavenly citizen. Man is also a spiritual being, having in him ‘a connexion exquisite of distant worlds,’ spiritual capacities which no created thing can compass or fill, imperative convictions of duty which are felt to be everlasting in obligation, and which must be obeyed, though feeble sense and quivering nerve and fibre shrink back from the work.”

He goes on to say that either side of this nature makes its lawful demands, and continues: “Now then, let us see where we are. Man is bound up in the two great departments of God’s universe, I have

PRINCIPAL GRANT

said; and we become unnatural and unhealthy when we confine our view to one side of our being and possessions, one side of truth, happiness and duty. It is ours to drink from all the streams of happiness that issue from God's throne. Our bodies are not to be macerated, but to be nurtured into strength and beauty; our characters not to be stunted, not put into straight jackets, but to be disciplined unto all their rightful issues; our minds to be developed, our tastes to be cultivated, our imaginations to be educated, our recreations to be encouraged, no legitimate exercise of any part of our nature to be checked except when it comes into collision with higher claims; and all this to be done—religiously!

“And such a combination of the lower and of the higher life is, I believe, what is enjoined in the text. There is nothing ironical or sarcastic in it, as is generally supposed, any more than in the context. In the preceding verse, the preacher had said that one ought to rejoice all his life, *i.e.* should ever keep a brave and happy heart; for many diseases both of soul and body take their rise in gloomy and bitter thoughts; while a merry heart is better than medicine. In the opinion of Luther, the man of modern times who had surest faith in spiritual realities, facetious books and music are next best to words of Holy Writ for driving away the devil from us. And the preacher next specifies the time of life in which enjoyment is most natural and attainable. ‘Young man, walk in the way of thy

THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

desire and by the sight of thine eyes,' *i.e.* whatever you see within your reach which would increase your happiness, enjoy that. It is yours ; but remember always that God will bring you into judgment for the manner in which you use this liberty. In other words, use God's blessings as comforts and pleasures intended for you ; but beware of abusing them ; for know well that He will call thee to account for all that thou doest. Such is the wisdom of Scripture, and it is too broad for the ascetic and the austere, for Scribe and Pharisee." In the religious and in the secular press, and in private life he was attacked by those who looked upon the text as a sarcastic warning of the bitter vengeance stored up against the frivolity and levity of youth.

This sermon was one of many utterances which sprang from his deep feeling that all God's gifts were good, and that the fullest expression of any truth could not but help forward the cause of the God of truth. In 1862, in a lecture upon "The Young Man's Life," delivered first at Pictou, and afterwards at Halifax, he bitterly complains of the distrustful attitude of Protestant and Roman Catholic alike, to the discoveries of modern science. To him all the universe was God's universe ; every truth was God's truth, and every man who, with a view to the discovery of truth, investigated the nature of God's universe, was a servant of the Almighty, seeking to manifest His ways to men. He spurned the theory which cut the world in two

PRINCIPAL GRANT

with a hatchet, and gave one half to reason and the other half to faith. Through and through, in warp and woof, he believed the universe was an organic whole belonging to the Almighty; reason but revealed in detail that which was already certain to the intuitive glance of faith.

“What then is the legitimate demand of science or of reason? For if we know that, we will be able to judge whether the cause of the hostility lies with it or with faith. I see keen-eyed reason coming to faith and addressing it thus, ‘You say that the Bible is from God—a revelation of His will. Well then, let it be fearlessly studied by all the faculties of knowing. For if it be “hopelessly obscure,” it is mockery (as Arnold will confess) to call it ‘the rule of faith.’ You thereby impute an obscurity to God’s work such as attaches to the work of no philosopher and no human legislator. Furthermore, you say that the world is from God—a revelation of His will. Let me then have perfect freedom to search into it and announce what I find there. If both are from the one author they will not contradict each other. So do not put me to the rack, as the papists did with Galileo, if I find that the earth goes round the sun. And do not persecute and call me hard names, as many of the evangelicals are in the habit of doing, if I cannot find traces of the Noachian deluge in America, or if I find bits of pottery in Egypt or flint weapons in France which I believe were fashioned by men more than six thousand

THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

years ago. In neither case am I an infidel, but the reverse. I would be an infidel if I refused to believe what is shown unto me by the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. I may be mistaken in my inference, but show me that I am. Or your inferences from the Bible may be unwarranted. And until we settle which is in the right, had you not better give and take the benefit of the doubt?’

“What! you say to me, science is here claiming nothing but the sacred rights of human thought in the religious and intellectual order of things. Who will dare to refuse her? Has not the indignant protest of humanity three centuries ago against the slavery of the mind settled all this? No, brethren, there is much in human nature opposed to this freedom; our pride, prejudices, fears, selfishness, are as intolerant of it now as in the days when Roger Bacon with his scientific discoveries, and Faustus with his printing press, were held to have made compact with hell, working wonders through the power of Beelzebub. Romanism still keeps the godless wall of separation raised between philosophy and religion. According to its theory we have a domain of revealed truth to be believed in on traditional authority, beside the domain of reason, which carries its evidence in itself. The two are represented, not as two parts of universal truth, but as two totally distinct kingdoms—the one of which has generally been trying to put down the other

PRINCIPAL GRANT

under it ; whereas—the church now being weak—an alliance is recommended to be made between them on terms of mutual respect and forbearance.”¹

The good people of Pictou might have stood with equanimity the vigorous denunciation of Romanism which follows, but Grant had a bad habit of not confining himself to the vices of the absent, and he went on to attack the attitude of Protestantism towards science as equally cowardly, equally unscriptural, and far more blameworthy, as being a sin against those very principles of liberty on which Protestantism was ostensibly based. Indeed, another cause of the distrust shown towards him was what was considered his undue sympathy with the Church of Rome. Of popery and of the hierarchy he had a wholesome Presbyterian distrust, but his tour upon the continent had opened his eyes ; not only did he see thousands of men and women in the Roman communion leading holy, self-sacrificing lives, but he came increasingly to admire the splendid organization and administration which had done so much Christ-like work among the lapsed masses, no less than the simple faith which lifts the soul of the Irish labourer or the Canadian *habitant* so far above the self-sufficient materialism of lower class Protestantism. As early as 1859 he had written words bold indeed for a young man about to start his career in Presbyterian Nova Scotia. “ If Romanism be a huge deception, assuredly its death warrant

¹ “ The Young Man’s Life.”

THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

has been signed and sealed long ago; and the longer the angel delays to put it in execution the more complete and awful will be the destruction; but it will not be put into execution as long as the papal church possesses a single good principle or particle of good which Protestantism has not attained unto. Let us then see well unto our own ways, and even enquire if we may not yet learn something from those whom we have long been satisfied with anathematizing."

In Halifax his church and house were close to those of Monseigneur Thomas Conolly, the Roman Catholic archbishop, and the growing friendship between the brilliant young Scot and the equally brilliant Irishman, a kinship of heroic hearts, who grew together in ever-increasing love and mutual understanding to the end, gave great offence to the narrow bigotry which in certain circles was rife.

When Grant reached Nova Scotia the "organ" controversy was raging. Though the brunt of the battle fell on Pollok, here, too, Grant played a prominent part, though it was not a question which he considered really important. St. Matthew's did not install an organ till 1878, but in this, as in all other innovations, he stood for individual and congregational liberty. In 1859, speaking of stained glass windows, he says: "I know that some who imagine themselves imbued with the old Puritan principles may object to such decorations of churches. On what good ground I am at a loss to know. The day

PRINCIPAL GRANT

has surely gone by forever when the chief aim in building temples to God was to crowd together the greatest possible architectural deformity at the least possible expense. God who planned this so fair universe, and fretted with golden fire the great arch of heaven, is the infinite source of the beautiful as well as the good and the true. It is well that we should be in harmony with Him, and let us not confound the reaching up unto spiritual truths through material symbols, with the gross materialism and fetichism which would rest in the outward and give to the creature the glory that belongs to the Creator."

In May, 1865, he writes : " It is absurd for people or congregations opposed to instrumental music to feel or speak angrily on the subject, because no one dreams of even asking them to change their usages ; all that is asked is liberty for those who think differently to act without being fettered by the tastes of people who may live a hundred miles away, and be very differently circumstanced. And for such congregational liberty I will contend at all hazards. The articles and laws of the Church of Scotland are numerous and stringent enough, and these are not the times for attempting to make them more so. They are the innovators who would make a new law where no law now exists, and any such attempt would alienate ten for every one it would confirm. In a large and historic church there cannot be, there ought not to be, absolute uniformity in things

THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

indifferent, and though personally all my tastes and prejudices are opposed to instrumental music in churches, I shall never sanction any narrowing of the congregational liberty, which, I believe, we possess."

In January, 1867, while perhaps still slightly incensed at his defeat in the synod, he delivered before the Y.M.C.A. of the city a lecture upon, "Reformers of the Nineteenth Century," which would not now excite much remark, but which at the moment raised a storm. The three reformers were Coleridge, Wordsworth and Carlyle, and a long introduction described in caustic terms the conditions of the eighteenth century with which they were called upon to grapple. "In all spiritual things there has hardly been so barren a century as the eighteenth, since the Christian centuries began. When Thomas Carlyle says of it that, 'What little it thought may be called Voltaire; what little it did Frederick the Great,' he is unjust to it, but only because he exaggerates. Samuel Johnson lived in it and almost redeems it. Burns lit up its later decades with a fire that consumed much of its dross. But little truth, little heroism, little faith lived and reigned in it." . . . "Geneva did something positive for a new system of things, though it was a something that Calvin would have stared at, when she sent forth Jean Jacques Rousseau. But certainly there was more living faith in the truths of Christianity during the eighteenth century at the Vatican than at any of the headquarters of Protestantism."

PRINCIPAL GRANT

As compared with an eighteenth century of sham, he calls the nineteenth a century of attempts to struggle back to reality, honesty, and true Christian self-sacrifice; a century which has seen the heroism of the disruption in the Church of Scotland, and the unflinching loyalty to truth of Faber, Manning and John Henry Newman.

“Now the astonishing thing is that the men who laud the heroism of Chalmers, Cunningham, Candlish, and their *confrères* most loudly, refuse to see any moral beauty, any faith, in Faber, Manning, or John Henry Newman, though they acted in obedience to precisely the same principles, and were men of at least equal purity of life, and equal intellectual and spiritual power. Why should there be nothing but praise for Chalmers’ honesty, and nothing but blame for Newman’s honesty! Because, do you tell me, the former went out for the cause of truth, the latter went out for the cause of error? Precisely. The former went out for what half a million Scotchmen were taught, during the heat of a ten year’s conflict, to believe to be truth; the latter for what two hundred millions of human beings had always believed to be the truth. In both cases I disagree with the church principles that the men held; in both cases I admire the moral principle by which they were actuated.

“This one principle, however, we see clearly in every movement in the world of theology, whether it be the Sabbath question, or the relation of Moses

THEOLOGICAL STRUGGLES

to Christ, or subscription to confessions of faith, or inspiration or ritualism ;—that men speak out and act out their belief, no matter what the consequences ; and that thereby the churches generally are in a state of ferment that makes it utterly impossible to predict what institutions will stand the test of the next quarter of a century, or what organizations may arise. Is this to be deplored? No, but rejoiced over. But what if our faith gets shaken? If a true faith, it can take care of itself ; if a false faith, a mere faith of personal comfort, the sooner it gets shaken, and shaken out of you, the better. If it be faith in articles or a system, the sooner they are thrust into the background, and faith in the living God takes their place, the better. If faith be not that blessed and inexorable light of Heaven vouchsafed unto you, by which at your peril you are to walk, what is it? A luxury carefully prepared and labelled, to be kept securely for your private delectation. What a pity such a bon-bon should be stolen from you !”

The whole lecture is full of striking sentences, and breathes a high moral fervour, which must have been almost as the voice of an accusing angel to many of the young men listening. But it is also full of sarcastic candour, of half humorous contempt for the unconscious shams of his clerical brethren, of a disparagement of the letter with which, in the minds of many, the spirit was identified. He must have expected criticism, but perhaps hardly the

PRINCIPAL GRANT

storm that followed. One passing remark was especially unwelcome to the so-called religious press. "Religious newspapers! The Irish Church, I believe, means a church *not* for the Irish people. So most certainly a religious newspaper means a newspaper that has no religion." For weeks the battle raged, if battle it can be called, when Grant, after reprinting his lecture in pamphlet form, retired into contemptuous silence. The press, secular and religious, denounced him; pamphlets in reply were published¹; the city pulpits hastened to show that they had no sympathy with his errors.

The *Record* for April, 1867, contains the following editorial note:—"In the last two numbers of our *Record*, notice was taken of the lecture delivered by the Rev. G. M. Grant before the Halifax Young Men's Association. These notices would seem to be in defence or commendation of said lecture. All that we desire to say now is, that whoever undertakes to defend that lecture should do so under his own signature; and that the character of the *Record* should not be compromised in any way by the sentiments advanced in the lecture."

His first endeavour to broaden the church had thus ended in apparent failure; but good seed had been sown, and when his next attempt was made it was to have a different termination.

¹ One in special by Judge Marshall, a retired gentleman of more physical than mental vitality, is still interesting. The judge soon afterwards fell foul of him again on the question of confederation, which he proved to be denounced as unconstitutional in the Holy Scriptures.

CHAPTER V

CONFEDERATION

“**Y**OUR father, my dear,” said an old lady to Grant’s son, “was a very able man, a very able man indeed; but far too much taken up with the concerns of this world ever to have been a minister.” Expressed at greater length and with more caution, this judgment sums up the criticism of very many upon any clergyman who ventures to apply the doctrines of his Master to the concerns of this world. Against this view of his ministry, a view even more prevalent during his Halifax career than now, Grant always protested. In his lecture on “Nineteenth Century Morality,” delivered in 1869, he says:—

“Well, we have described what ought to be the political morality of every citizen, party and government. But have we described only Utopia? What are the facts of the case? Why, in the first place, all the citizens do not take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the state, all do not vote, many do not vote honestly. Here the question comes up, that is, but should not be, a question at all—ought the clergy to vote? Yes, always. You might as well ask—ought the clergy to read the papers? Because if they read them, they must form

PRINCIPAL GRANT

some opinion on the questions of the day. And if they are prevented by a false public opinion from giving a constitutional expression to their views, they must either conceal them or express them in a frightened, underhand way that will make them unmanly or hypocritical, and in the end lead to their seeking and gaining a secret and unconstitutional influence dangerous to a free state.

"The people have a right to expect that their minister shall vote honestly ; that he shall use no unfair or dishonourable means to influence others ; that if he has any 'ledger influence' he'll not press it ; that when he speaks or argues he will speak like a gentleman ; and then, of course, the minister has a right to expect the same rules to be observed by each and every one of his people. That is, the one is as much bound to act as a good citizen as the other ; and therefore a clergyman should speak freely, vote freely, and he may freely be elected a representative of the people."

To the last this conviction grew and deepened. To retire from the world and save one's own soul by leaving one's fellow-beings to the tender mercies of the devil, was an ideal for which he had scanty sympathy. That we best serve God by making this

¹ At this time very many of the country people were deeply in debt to the Halifax merchants. A merchant who had a number of them on his books as debtors could naturally sway their votes by the threat of legal procedure. This was known as "ledger influence." The meaning of the term widened, till it became practically synonymous with the modern "pull."

CONFEDERATION

world of His more habitable, more cleanly, less full of darkness and abominations, was a truth which he felt with the deepest intensity. In so doing men were not only bringing their souls into harmony with the stern law of duty, but also treading in the footsteps of Him who went about doing good. Thus all Grant's work was transfigured and hallowed by the thought that it would some day be rewarded by the smile of the risen Son of Man. God was very near to him, near him as loving father, nearer still as elder brother, nearest of all, perhaps, as all-pervading, all-sanctifying spirit. He often preached upon the text, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me;" and he counted no work, political, educational or philanthropic, unfit for the hand of the servant of the Lord. In accordance with this conviction, he from the first took the deepest interest in those great political principles and movements with which the welfare of the country and of the world is so largely bound up. In local politics he felt but little interest, save in the question of honest administration. But from 1868-70 Nova Scotia was agitated by a series of problems of great importance, to which he recurred long afterwards in his last public address.

"At first they were,—shall we provide free common schools for all our children or not? and shall our little province encourage the establishment of a university governed by an independent board of

PRINCIPAL GRANT

different denominations, or remain content with a number of small and sectarian institutions? But these questions, important in themselves, soon became dwarfed by the infinitely more important one: Shall our three provinces remain separate or shall they form a maritime union or even a confederation with Upper and Lower Canada, and so aim at the formation of a British North American nation? This issue forced every man to whom country was dearer than self to think, and to think with all his might. It soon became evident that vested interests were imperilled, that the immediate prosperity of Halifax, the good old city I loved so well, was threatened; and that local feelings all over the province were in favour of our remaining simply Nova Scotians, instead of trying an experiment, the outcome of which no one could foretell."

The confederation of the British colonies of North America had long been a problem of academic interest, mentioned by Robert Gourlay, discussed by Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick) and Lord Durham, urged with glowing eloquence by Joseph Howe. In 1864, the exigencies of Canadian politics brought it with startling suddenness into the region of the practical. In that year a conference at Charlottetown to discuss a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces was, with true statesmanship, seized upon by Sir John Macdonald, and made an instrument to bring about a wider federation. This solution of their political difficulties was eagerly

CONFEDERATION

accepted in Upper and in Lower Canada. In New Brunswick, the legislature, in 1865, appealed to the people, and was defeated, but in the succeeding year another election resulted in a large majority for confederation. In Nova Scotia resolutions in approval were passed by a coalition. Joseph Howe, who had for twenty years been the most prominent figure in provincial politics, was not at this time in the legislature, having accepted an imperial position as fishery commissioner. In 1865 this office, owing to the lapse of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, ceased to exist. Howe was without office of any kind, and for a time both parties were eagerly watching his course, and anxious to secure his all-powerful influence. At last he chose to be leader of the anti-confederates. The agitation gathered strength, and was fanned by the mercantile and banking interests of Halifax, which had no desire to admit any outsiders into their lucrative preserve. The local passion for independence, and the long-standing jealousy of Canadians were kindled into fury.¹ Archbishop Conolly was a sincere and ardent confederate, but very few of his flock followed his example. Dr. Tupper and Adams G. Archibald, the leaders of the coalition, held together their majority in the legislature by means, some of which will not bear careful scrutiny, resolutely refusing

¹ Eighty cents per head was the amount of the annual subsidy to be paid to the province by the proposed Dominion, and the country districts were swept with the cry: "We are sold for the price of a sheepskin."

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the desired appeal to the people, and, in April, 1866, passed the final resolutions which led to the inclusion of Nova Scotia in the Canadian confederation.

Howe and his associates at once proclaimed that they would "seek justice at the foot of the throne," and a deputation was sent to the British parliament. As the most pertinent answer to their appeal, Dr. Tupper published a pamphlet, consisting wholly of extracts from Howe's former eloquent pleadings in favour of union. Howe soon saw the hopelessness of his attempt, and with noble inconsistency joined the ranks of the confederates, accepting office in the federal administration, and thereby obtaining for Nova Scotia far better financial terms than had previously been awarded. It seems evident that his heart had never been fully in the agitation; his eloquence had done more than anything else to make confederation a living issue, and his belated attempt to set the heather on fire and to stultify his previous work was unavailing. Against the charges of inconsistency and of corruption which were passionately brought against him, Grant defended him with equal passion; while not blind to Howe's faults, he always considered him our greatest Canadian statesman. "He was the noblest of our native born, a greater statesman than Macdonald, a greater orator than Laurier."

Nova Scotia's most tangible grievance, the financial injustice of the original proposals, was removed

CONFEDERATION

by the better terms obtained by Howe in 1869; but the whole procedure was of a very questionable character. "Legally, of course, confederation was the act of the imperial parliament, which had full power to legislate for dependencies."¹ But for a legislature, elected on a totally different issue, to refuse an appeal to the people on a question of paramount importance is more legal than moral, and the manner in which the measure was passed left a long-enduring bitterness in the minds of the people.²

Of confederation Grant was an ardent advocate. By it alone, he saw, could his native province grow from petty sectionalism into the full status of nationhood, and for the higher spirit and the wider outlook wrought by the consciousness of partnership in a noble heritage, he considered the temporary commercial depression of Halifax to be a small price indeed. This idea he had learned from Howe; unlike some others, he had learned it so thoroughly that when Howe appeared in his new rôle as the foe of union, Grant was unable to follow him. His motive is given in the speech already quoted.

"There was my first principle of political action; —British North America must unite and must resolutely and patiently cultivate a union of hearts

¹ Goldwin Smith. "Canada and the Canadian Question."

² So late as 1896, the Hon. W. S. Fielding, then premier of the province, swept Nova Scotia on the repeal issue, though after his election nothing practical was attempted.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and of interests. The Maritime Provinces had no more right to deny to the interior provinces an ocean frontage and a maritime element to their population than Quebec, because it held the mouth of the St. Lawrence, would have the right to deny to Ontario freedom to freely navigate the river. 'Each for all, and all for each,' must be our motto. The time for action, too, had come, and though party and selfish interests demanded delay, these had to be subordinated to the common good. So I stood against my old political mentor, Howe, and on the side of Tupper, for confederation, as I had stood by him in his common school and university policy."

Speaking at Pictou, in March, 1865, he devotes himself almost entirely to this larger side of the question. "Nova Scotia is too weak to be able to exist by herself, and too valuable to be allowed an independent existence. If a nationality distinct from that of the northern states cannot be formed, Canada must fall into the hands of the United States, and we sink or swim with Canada." Of the actual terms of the proposed measure he says comparatively little, save that while not perfect,¹ it is the

¹ In 1874, speaking in Montreal to the Evangelical Alliance, he says:—"In our organization as a Dominion, education was left to the different provinces. As far as universities are concerned, a greater mistake could not have been made. There should be common intellectual centres where the young men of the Dominion could form friendships as they studied, discuss the problems of the age, prepare themselves for active life, and cultivate a high standard of thought and manners. The

CONFEDERATION

best practicable, and that to let slip the present occasion might be to miss the chance of a generation. "The longer the colonies keep separate, the greater the difficulty in arranging a union. The longer any state exists, the more do officials multiply, salaries increase, and local feelings intensify. Hence the difficulty of effecting a union between England and Scotland, beneficial and necessary though it was. Hence, too, the impossibility of peacefully fusing into one the petty German states.

establishment of such centres should be in the hands of our first-class public men, and should be fostered by the liberality of the whole country. They have been deliberately left to our second-class public men, and generally to the fostering care of private individuals and sects."

The last sentence points to another danger in our confederation, which, as early as 1869, he foresaw, that Canadian statesmen and politicians would more and more make Ottawa the goal of their efforts, and that the local legislature would be filled by men of inferior calibre. Writing in that year to his brother Charles, who, in 1868, had left Halifax to serve as a missionary of the Church of Scotland in India, he goes so far as to say: "The poor Locals, since Howe gave them up, have been sinking deeper and deeper into contempt, and I only hope that they will at length bring the whole arrangement of a local legislature into such contempt that it will have to be given up." . . . "As to politics, we have none. The Locals are despised; but the game isn't thought worth trying for by any organized set of better men. The Local Houses must in time get themselves abolished. The only object of ambition will be Ottawa."

But these are mere *obiter dicta*, born of impatience, for in his cooler moments he always recognized that our great size, and diversity of interests and nationalities, made anything but a federal and largely decentralized union impracticable. "Provincial legislatures are necessary, but certainly not such as those we have—which, like a well-known class of horses, are pretty much 'all action and no go,'" he wrote in 1880.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Even though they now constitute a commercial unit, every intelligent German will tell you that their thirty-three princekins are thirty-three chains around Germany. Every little duchy has its separate civil, military, home and foreign establishments, laws, currency, court and humbug to eat up its revenues; but the ruts have been worn so deep that they cannot run the wheels of state out of them without war or anarchy. It was the stern pressure of war that forced the states of America together. Cannot we profit by their experience, and that of the whole past to effect a sounder union when undistracted by oppression or war? Each year that passes by will make the task more difficult; and failure now when the auguries are all bright, would make the boldest hereafter hesitate before trying against increased opposition."

Such was his admiration for the unfailing courage of Dr. Tupper, that at a later date he even ventured, not very successfully, to defend the manner in which confederation was carried.¹ The only true defence was that of the colonial secretary, Lord Carnarvon, when with unusual candour he declared that to submit the measure to the people of Nova Scotia, would be to postpone it indefinitely; and in view of the change in sentiment wrought in New Brunswick by eighteen months of calm considera-

¹ "Canada and the Canadian Question," a review in the *Week* of Goldwin Smith's book of that name; republished by the Imperial Federation League in Canada.

CONFEDERATION

tion, the truth of his Lordship's prediction may be doubted.

Finding no satisfaction in Britain, the anti-confederates next talked secession, and even in the House of Assembly one of their prominent men spoke of seizing the custom houses, for which incautious piece of treason he was promptly made to apologize by the sturdy old lieutenant-governor, Sir Hastings Doyle. In Halifax, especially, which saw her commercial supremacy threatened, the struggle was fierce. Grant's congregation comprised leaders of both parties, and only an imperious sense of duty drove him to speak, which he was careful to do not from the pulpit but on public platforms and in the press, where his opponents had a right to reply. Even so, the indignation was extreme.

“Mr. — is not coming to church,’ one of the elders said to me, in an icy tone, ‘because he is offended at you for having spoken in Pictou in favour of confederation.’ ‘Has it not occurred to you that I may be offended because he has spoken against confederation?’ I replied. This point of view was so novel that a puzzled look was the only response. ‘Tell him,’ I resumed, ‘that I am not at all offended, and that he has too much good sense to deny me the freedom which he himself takes.’ Both men, it may be added, remained members of the congregation.” Others were less polite. “Why the devil don't you stick to your damned preaching

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and leave politics to us," said a prominent merchant in the congregation, all the veneer rubbed off at the thought of financial disaster.

To repeal and secession succeeded a cry for annexation to the United States, which in its turn died away. Grant's letters to his brother give a lively picture of the intensity of the struggle, and of the methods employed to win over the malcontents.

May 21st, 1869.—"Repeal is dead, but many of the repealers have become decided annexationists, and the next political struggle will be with them. They are an eager, vigorous and unscrupulous party, and stronger than we are apt to assume. They number largely in Ontario, and if we don't get a reciprocity treaty, will increase in every province. For the fact is that we are now half-starved commercially. Trade is dull; no mines can be opened; the old mines are languishing; times were never so bad. If there were public virtue enough, such a state would do us good. It would make us cast all thought of reciprocity treaties from our minds, and make our policy be the determined protection of our own interests, that is, of the interests of the different provinces of the Dominion, and the opening up of new channels of trade. But people shrink from any self-denial. They won't be satisfied with being poor and honest, when they think it possible that they may become rich without being very dishonest. I hope it will end well. I rather think it will, too."

CONFEDERATION

June 18th, 1869.—"Since Howe won Hants by thirty-eight of a majority, the repealers have felt that the game was up. They still talk a little, mutter and grumble a good deal, but the fire is dying to ashes. Wilkins tried to get resolutions passed to appeal to British courts of law, but his own colleagues in the government deserted him and he was defeated. Still, the aspect of affairs, though now calm enough outwardly, is not at all satisfactory to me. The repealers—many of them—have become annexationists, and I am afraid that in New Brunswick, and more especially in Ontario, that Esau party is increasing. There's not enough public spirit in the new Dominion to make sacrifices to encourage and develop provincial resources and foster inter-provincial trade; and the United States is such a near, big, rich, tempting market that it seems so much easier to be dependent on it. But *nous verrons*. The loyal party must do its duty—that's the one point clear."

August 13th, 1869.—"As to matters political, they are a little more exciting of late. The sluggish waters have again been stirred. Sir John Young, the governor-general, is visiting the north shore of New Brunswick, and Charlottetown, P.E.I., and is to visit Halifax next week. So the mayor was requested to call a meeting to arrange for a welcome to him. He does so—and at the city council chambers, a small room able to hold one hundred. Meeting is held on Tuesday at 8 o'clock, but by 2.30 the antis had

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the body of it packed by fifty or sixty determined men. Mr. ——— there spouted treason liberally; a row was the result, and the meeting was squashed. The confeds., indignant, called a meeting for next night at Temperance Hall; had it crowded, unanimous, enthusiastic; and have made arrangements for a magnificent welcome. The judges went in a body to the first meeting, but were so indignant at ———'s disloyal balderdash that while he was speaking they rose in a body and left. Half an hour after the meeting ——— was at the governor's explaining that his speech meant nothing, that he had been interrupted, was misrepresented, etc., etc. Nice man to head a revolution! But the antis are still furious. But if Archibald wins Colchester it will be a terrible blow, and I think he will win, though the farmers are stubborn and slow to change. Next month will show."

September 9th, 1869.—"I haven't a great deal of news to give, but such as I have had best be given. To-day the election in Colchester takes place, the county having been opened by McLellan accepting the situation and accepting at the same time a senatorship and an Intercolonial Railway inspectorship—a case, in my opinion, of unblushing and shameless buying up an opponent. I thought that the case was so bad that it would operate against Archibald, for the Colchester people were justly enraged. I was up in Truro a week ago—inducting Wilkins—and it happened to be nomination day.

CONFEDERATION

The village was crowded; at least five thousand had come in from all parts of the county. At the speech-making the people wouldn't listen to one word of abuse of McLellan, nor one word in his favour, nor one word from him—'We don't want to hear his name,' was the universal cry. It was really grand; a stern reprobation worthy of Romans. As he supported Archibald I was afraid that he would thereby damage him, but to-night's paper has just come in, and says that in the districts as yet heard from, Archibald is 800 ahead. If so, he is safe, and another nail has been driven in the coffin of the local government. As to repeal, it is dead and buried. Annexationism is the next foe to fight. And on the whole I think it is not to be feared. Prince Arthur, third son of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, has been paying us a visit during the last two or three weeks. He visited Prince Edward Island, and is now in New Brunswick, and has been greeted everywhere with exuberant bursts of loyalty. I was introduced to him, and found him an exceedingly pleasant, natural, simple—I mean genuine and honest—son of his father. McGregor and all his people met him at Hopewell, and McG. read a glowing address and had sixteen sturdy Highlanders all ready, clad, as the reporter puts it, 'in white shirts and other appropriate costumes,' who dragged his carriage a mile. Of course, loyalty is quite in the ascendant at present. A week before the Prince came, the governor-general paid us a visit, and the antis tried

PRINCIPAL GRANT

their best to insult him by refusing to sign an address to him, go to his levée, or anything. Public opinion was so decidedly against them that even they saw it, and so they went in for giving the Prince a welcome; but the inconsistency was too glaring to impose on any one."

September 24th, 1869.—"I have not much else to write about. Political matters are in a lull, since Archibald's return by a majority of three hundred and fifty-five for Colchester. It is a terrible blow to the Locals and *The Morning Chronicle*: for Adams¹ is not only an original sinner, but an unrepentant sinner; a Quebec delegate, and all that is bad, and not sorry for it. Still I hope that there will not be a general election this year. The people need another year of the local government to sicken them thoroughly; and by that time, too, I expect that the Yankees will take the duty off coal, and that will allay most of the remaining dissatisfaction. For there is no doubt that trade suffers terribly when we are cut off from United States markets for our only two great staples, coal and fish. In the meantime the Locals are scunnering the people, as fast as it is possible, of all that they were identified with."

August 20th, 1870.—"There is no fear of confederation now; but the slowness of the government in many things is disgusting. The fault is, that in a popular government there is too little authority.

¹ i.e., Adams G. Archibald.

CONFEDERATION

You mustn't do this or that or you'll offend people who have votes, and at next election they'll remember. Faugh! It makes one wish for a wholesome despotism. I hope for better things however."

Even while the repeal agitation was at its height, there were those who saw that its triumph was to be transitory. "As a young man," writes Mr. J. J. Stewart, editor of the *Halifax Herald*, "I was in 1867 a friend of A. Woodbury McLellan, at that time one of the foremost opponents of confederation. 'How is this election going?' I asked him once. 'Oh,' he said 'we shall win this immediate election, win easily, but we shall lose in the end.' 'How so?' 'The men with ideas and ideals are against us. Look at Archbishop Conolly, and that young Presbyterian minister, young Grant, in Halifax. Those are the men of the future, and they are all against us.' It is not often that a political prophecy is so exactly fulfilled."

There were dark days in store; Grant himself had his doubts; but as in other cases, he kept them to himself and set himself to do steadily all that within him lay to aid the young confederacy in her struggle towards a high and noble nationhood.

CHAPTER VI

THE PASTOR

CONFEDERATION killed the old merchant aristocracy of Halifax. Some of its members survived the shock and are to-day prosperous under altered conditions, but the days when political ascendancy, business influence, and social prestige centred in a few long-established families passed away forever. When Grant entered upon his ministry, these evil days were unforeseen, and Halifax could boast of a culture, in some respects superficial, but far more truly well-bred than the garish splendour of present-day Chicago or New York. "Nowhere in Canada," he said once, "have I seen such well appointed dinners, such perfection of service, as in those early days in Halifax." Halifax, indeed, was the province. There centred not only the wealth, but also the intellect, legal, political and literary, of Nova Scotia. With this society Grant soon became a favourite. His Celtic charm of manner and vivacity of conversation made him sought after at every dinner table; his flow of stories and cheery common sense made him as popular with the men as his tact and Highland gallantry did with his hostesses. His love for society was, of course, misunderstood by some of the "unco

PRINCIPAL GRANT

guid," especially by such as would have given a year of life for one of the invitations which showered in on him; yet most even of these were soon won over by his kindness, his charity, his utter lack of pretence, and, above all, by his success in every department of his congregation.

For his organizing and administrative capacity he had a splendid field, "fine fallow ground," as he put it. In such matters, the Rev. John Scott had apparently gone upon the easy principle of the Scottish housewife that "things must aye be some way." But the reserved son of the Lowlands and the impetuous Celt had in common a deep love for their fellows, and the old man gave to his energetic successor his cordial approval and support. Till his death he was a regular attendant at the church where he had so long ministered, and his diary shows the deep interest with which he followed the plans and purposes of the newcomer. In February, 1864, he died suddenly. "Calmly and in deep peace," said Grant to the congregation on the next Sabbath, "he passed from a world in which his work was done, into the world of spirits. The last prayer I heard from him was on my own behalf. Holding my hand in both of his, and drawing me closer to himself, each word came from him very slowly and very distinctly: 'May God bless you in all your work. Amen!' I then left him. By faith, when he was a-dying, he blest his son in the ministry." This whole sermon is one of the most remark-

THE PASTOR

able ever preached by a newly arrived minister, supposedly anxious to be on good terms with a proud and slightly self-important congregation. He roundly takes them to task for their ingratitude to his predecessor, their failure to see the heart of love beneath an exterior of dignified reserve. Not yet a year among them, he speaks as he had previously spoken to the people of Georgetown, with the calm self-confidence of one who felt himself to be a steward of the oracles of God. While he had no sympathy with those who arrogated to the ministry priestly or supernatural powers, he resolved from the first to speak out his mind upon any question on which he had strong convictions, and "neither to fear nor to flatter any flesh." But he never scolded. With the fervour of the Old Testament prophets, he denounced the shams and hypocrisies and immoralities of his time, his city and his congregation, but his indictments were so true, and above all, so blended with love for the sinner, and indeed for universal humanity that none save the Pharisee could take offence.¹

¹ He was fond of telling the story of an Irish saloon-keeper in the congregation, whose vices became so notorious that in one of his sermons Grant scourged them with more than wonted asperity. Coming out of church that morning he was surprised to meet the man in question, his face beaming.

"A grand sermon, Mr. Grant, a grand sermon; it did me good to listen to it."

"To tell the truth, Mr. ——" said Grant in some surprise, "I rather thought that some parts of it hit you rather hard."

"My dear fellow," said the good-humoured rascal, laying one hand

PRINCIPAL GRANT

He at once organized classes of both sexes for reading the Bible. These met weekly and were conducted by himself, though he always encouraged, and what is more difficult, secured the fullest liberty of discussion. The devotion of the ladies' class was tested by the inauguration of an entrance fee of a penny per week, the sum procured being given to charity. His Bible class was confined to grown-up men and women, and was held at a different hour from the Sunday school. The ladies were also organized into a sewing circle for the poor, and into a "Woman's Auxiliary" which gave valuable aid alike to foreign and to home missions. The missionary energy and enterprise which characterizes the women of Canada is now systematized by the Presbyterian Church into the Woman's Foreign Mission Society, a branch of which is found in every congregation. Of this great society the Auxiliary of St. Matthew's was one of the pioneers. In addition to his Bible class, he organized for the young men of the congregation, a club, which met fortnightly, on week evenings, to discuss topics of secular interest, and at which, for many years, the average attendance was not less than forty. Such questions as prohibition, confederation, and the due observance of the Sabbath were discussed. The last he introduced in 1865, *à propos* of Norman Macleod's celebrated pamphlet,

affectionately on the shoulder of his minister, "it's a poor sermon that doesn't hit me somewhere."

THE PASTOR

which so convulsed the church at home. Among the audience was a young man who had recently been a Plymouth brother, and who naturally was bitterly opposed to the views of Norman Macleod and of Grant. The argument which ensued grew so hot on both sides that many of the congregation still remember it.

One of Grant's most noticeable characteristics was his ability not only to work himself but to get work done by others. Taking every man at his best, he got his best out of him. If a man were willing to work and not merely to prate, Grant would endure surliness, eccentricity, anything short of absolute dishonesty. When he secured an efficient co-worker he gave him a free hand, sympathizing, suggesting, counselling, but never interfering or intervening, and never claiming any share in the honour which accrued. As superintendent of the Sunday school he was fortunate enough to secure Murdoch Lindsay, as true and efficient a co-worker as ever minister possessed. Ardent, enthusiastic, practical, filled with a fervent desire to win to Christ the young souls under his charge, Murdoch, as he was usually known, was an ideal superintendent. Over his work the minister watched with loving care. Most scrupulous caution was exercised in the selection of teachers. The life, doctrine, and temper of each were carefully scrutinized before the young were entrusted to their charge. Every Sunday morning a class was held for the teachers themselves, in which

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the minister carefully went over with them the lessons for the day. Many of the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, of the British garrison were induced to take classes, and soon won the hearts of boys and girls alike.¹ The number of pupils soon increased to five hundred and fifty, and the teachers to forty-seven, so that the basement was filled to over-flowing.

The congregation had for some years subscribed to the support of a city missionary, who visited the purlieus characteristic of what is both a seaport and a garrison town. In 1865 Grant succeeded in persuading the three Kirk congregations in the city to support a missionary of their own, and a year or so later St. Matthew's itself undertook full charge of this work.

As a successful collector of money he soon acquired a wide reputation, though few had any idea how repugnant such work was to his high spirit. His cardinal principle in collecting was never to ask money for any object to which he had not himself given to the fullest extent of his ability. To this he added a determination never to beg; he demanded the money as a right, and often half humorously portrayed himself as giving to the rich a grateful opportunity for doing good. Thus

¹ This was especially so during the stay in Halifax of the 78th Highlanders, but even in the English regiments Grant found a sprinkling of Presbyterian leaven. For the army and for the military type he had a high admiration, and was a frequent guest at the infantry and the artillery messes in Halifax.

THE PASTOR

he never tried to stampede his congregation. His practice was to make a fervent appeal on the Sunday before the collection, but on the day itself to confine himself to a bare announcement of the object for which the money was desired. The chief annual collections were those for the poor of the church and for the home mission fund of the synod. These rapidly and steadily increased; in 1865, forty-five pounds ten shillings were given on a single Sunday to aid the mission of the sister church among the savages of the New Hebrides; and when, shortly afterwards, the synod agreed to coöperate with the United Presbyterian body in this work, by sending out the Rev. H. A. Robertson, St. Matthew's at once came to the front with a contribution which assured success. Grant's work in the home mission committee is described elsewhere; as minister of St. Matthew's he established Sunday schools at Richmond and at the Northwest Arm. The former, started in a deserted freight car, soon grew into a mission-station and finally into a self-sustaining charge; the latter still exists as a flourishing mission-station.¹

In every charitable and philanthropic work he took the keenest interest. For years he was on the board of that noble school for the blind, of whose

¹ Much of the collecting for this object was done by the G.P.C., the General Plasterers' Club, a name which Grant gave to the Ladies' Auxiliary because of the zeal with which they furnished the newly established churches.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

work Halifax is so justly proud¹; and he was never on the board of any institution which needed funds without coming forward both as a contributor and collector. He was also connected with the Deaf and Dumb Institute, the Children's Home, the Old Ladies' Home, and still more closely with the Industrial School. Vice, he felt, is often only mis-directed energy, and he gave many an hour to help those who were struggling to rescue the children of the city and province from homes of destitution and misery, and to give them an opportunity of making a clean and honourable living. When the new Y.M.C.A. building was opened, he aided its promoters in every possible way, and his breezy conversation and wholesome merriment did much to assure the young men of the city that this was not a new device to bribe them into hearing sermons. Previous to his time the Halifax Young Men's Christian Association would have been better styled the Halifax Old Men's Prayer-Meeting.

When the new building was completed, a great meeting to consider the best means of reducing the mortgage was held in it. Of this gathering Grant took charge. It was his first attempt at what he so often did afterwards, getting a meeting into good humour, and keeping it so while

¹ This school was founded by the late William Murdoch, who left five thousand pounds for its endowment on condition that the board raised a like sum. This they,—or rather Grant,—soon succeeded in doing.

THE PASTOR

the subscription lists were being passed round. At the first mention of a subscription, several of the listeners made for the door, and the exodus threatened to become general. "Let them go," called Grant, with a laugh, "they're only Dartmouth people that have to catch the last boat." No self-respecting Haligonian would voluntarily be classed as an inhabitant of the suburb across the harbour, and the retreat was at once stayed. The supposed suburbans being thus eliminated, Grant ordered the doors to be locked till every Haligonian had either subscribed or expressly refused to do so. Amid laughter and cheers a subscription list was signed which practically extinguished the mortgage.

In no class did he take a keener interest than in the sailors of the port. Jack ashore fared hardly in those days. Scarcely had he landed, with his hard-earned dollars burning in his pocket, before he was beset by the harpies of either sex who infested the lower streets of the city. Even if he desired to keep sober, there were few places of amusement, and no respectable lodging-houses where he could meet with others of his class. The natural result was that he ended in being decoyed into one of the low dens in the neighbourhood of the wharves, to be drugged and robbed, and to awake on board some outward bound craft, by whose agents he had been crimped. To provide a suitable boarding-house was easy; the proper man to put in charge was

PRINCIPAL GRANT

harder to find, but he came at last, and Grant saw the Sailors' Home opened under the care of Mr. James Potter, now missionary among the sailors upon the St. Lawrence canals. Its success proved to be the commencement of a better era, and to-day in Halifax any sailor who wishes to save his money, or to spend it respectably, has full opportunity to do so.

Later on, his favourite charity was perhaps the dispensary on South Brunswick Street. Chiefly owing to his exertions, a new building was erected and opened in April, 1876. To this was added a morgue, the lack of which had long been a disgrace to the city. To defray the cost of the new building, an annual collection in all the city churches, Catholic and Protestant, on what was known as Hospital Sunday, was resorted to; out of the two thousand seven hundred dollars collected on its first institution, St. Matthew's was responsible for one thousand, and Grant soon afterwards wiped off the remaining deficit by collecting over three thousand dollars from friends in the city. At the same time the work of the dispensary was enlarged, the city being divided into four districts, which four of the prominent physicians of the city were induced to visit free of charge. Grant wished to see a children's hospital founded in connection with this institution, but the accommodation proved inadequate, and the funds with which to build were not forthcoming.

Of the North British Society he was naturally a

THE PASTOR

prominent member, and took an equal interest in its dinners, its balls, and its charities. In 1875 he became president, and had the satisfaction of adding to the roll the largest number of members in its history. His glowing speech on "The Secret of Scottish National Life and Character" is preserved in the records of the society.

Meanness in financial matters was to him almost the unpardonable sin. He was no spendthrift. Early days in Pictou and at Glasgow had taught him how to make the most of every dollar. But for a man with money to refuse to give to any good object was a form of selfishness with which he had little sympathy. "Practise small economies in order that you may be able to give largely," was often his advice to his students.¹ Not only to institutions, but to individual cases, his heart was open. No crying child was ever passed without a kindly word, and the solatium of a penny. Again and again when the superintendent of the industrial school met him and complained that funds were not forthcoming for the maintenance of a child, Grant, without

¹ For some years after his arrival in Halifax a faithful member of his congregation was a wealthy but penurious Scot, an old bachelor who sincerely liked his minister, but who strongly reprobated "thae terrible begging sermons," though he always promised that his will would reveal how dearly he loved his church. After his death it was found that he had made no mention of St. Matthew's. Next Sunday the minister gave out as his text:—James v. 1, "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries which shall come upon you." A discourse followed which mentioned no names, but which it was impossible not to fit to the recent occurrence.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

wasting time on sympathy, at once asked :—" How long do you want to keep him there?" "Ten years." "Very well, I shall be responsible," and the young minister passed on with his quick step and kindly smile, apparently oblivious of the new financial burden, but never forgetting to send his cheque when quarter day came round.

So eminent was his financial and administrative success, that in 1866 he was offered a partnership in one of the largest business houses in the city, an offer which he declined with an indulgent smile.

In 1858 when Mr. Scott was invited by a liberal-minded clergyman to preach in a Free Presbyterian pulpit, several members of the congregation indignantly rose and walked out of the church ; yet from the commencement of his work, in the face of more than one rebuff, Grant sought exchanges with the clergy of every Protestant denomination, and though his attitude was sometimes misunderstood, the liberal spirit which gradually grew up was largely the result of his efforts. Against vice, hypocrisy, and meanness, he thundered unceasingly ; but he resolutely refused to regard as more than mere matters of convenience questions of administration and ritual. On one occasion at least he caused great scandal by attending the St. Patrick's banquet upon a Saturday evening and joining boisterously in the merriment, though even his opponents admitted that he reached home before midnight.

THE PASTOR

Yet where things apparently trivial acquired, through special circumstances, an added importance, he could be strictness itself. He fought for years against the carelessness that preferred private baptism. Save in cases of life and death, he insisted that parents should make public profession of the faith in which they pledged themselves to bring up the child, holding that publicity was absolutely necessary to give full solemnity to the sacrament. So, too, in any doubtful case, he insisted upon a thrice repeated proclamation of the banns of marriage. Many of the sailors in Halifax could boast of a wife in every port, and the men of the garrison often practised the same plurality. Grant made sure that he should have no hand in such a profanation of the marriage ceremony, not only by putting the applicant through a searching course of questions, but also by a rigorous insistence on the proclamation, already in many quarters passing out of use.

"The ideal committee is one of three, in which two of the members are permanently absent," was one of his sayings, and he was inclined to act with a slight disregard of the Kirk Session, though always careful when any trouble arose to use them as a shield, and to refer feelingly to his own lack of personal authority.¹ Yet their relations were nearly

¹ In the Presbyterian Church, authority in congregational matters is vested in the Kirk Session, which consists of the minister, and of a certain number of elders, elected by all members of the congregation in full communion. Financial control rests with a separate body of trustees or managers.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

always harmonious, for the disregard extended only to small matters of routine, which he settled off-hand, whereas in any business of importance, he was careful to consult their dignity. Occasionally he was plagued by the desire of the session to worry over small things, but such complaints he usually laughed out of court. Sometimes, however, the session took the bit in its teeth, as when it wrangled for seven months with the trustees as to which body should "appoint some poor boy to ring the bell on Sundays, allowing him some slight remuneration."

For the individual members of the session, Grant found work in abundance. Each took his turn in controlling the weekly prayer-meeting; to them was delegated the care of the mission-stations at Richmond and the Northwest Arm. Each was put in control of a certain district of the city, and expected to accompany the pastor in his official visitations; to keep a strict account of all Presbyterian families moving in or out; to investigate cases of distress; and in every way to assist the spiritual welfare of the district. The office of elder thus became one of great importance, which some were even compelled to decline on account of the amount of time involved. Grant always considered the elders worthy of the highest reverence, and few things in his whole career gave him more pain than the occasion on which he was compelled, as head of the session, solemnly to depose from the

THE PASTOR

eldership an unworthy member, and at the next communion to forbid his attempted approach to the table of the Lord.

With the young he was a universal favourite. The junior members of the old families of the city, brought up in a cultured and ease-loving community, were often inclined to habits of laziness, which not infrequently degenerated into drunkenness and vice. With these he laboured unceasingly, and more than one owes to him his reformation. For the minister to walk along Pleasant Street arm-in-arm with a half-drunken youth, was certainly to expose himself to the reproaches previously directed at his Master, who ate and drank with publicans and sinners, but when in many cases the drunkard ere long became a sober, duty-doing citizen, the voices of the traducers were hushed. Often he failed. One young fellow, over whom he had agonized for years, died a drunkard's death. Grant preached the funeral sermon in the house, and those who were there tell how, disregarding all banalities, he spoke frankly, yet with deepest and tenderest sympathy, of the life that was gone, ending with the deep-voiced peroration: "He was more sinned against than sinning. Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone at him." "No wonder that he was our idol," writes an eyewitness of the scene. "I was a young fellow recently come to Halifax," writes another, who is to-day one of the foremost financiers in the Ameri-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

can union, "when he was at St. Matthew's, and two or three of us were living in semi-bohemian style in lodgings, half thinking what a fine thing it was to be free from all restraint, and half grumbling that no one seemed to take any interest in us. One evening your father called upon us, introduced himself, chatted in a kindly way for a few minutes, and invited us to his house for the next evening. We felt that we were cared for, and this in itself was a great help to us. We went, formed acquaintances, were invited elsewhere, and I, for one, became a regular attendant at your father's church, and a worker at his Sunday school."

Grant lived first in Britannia Terrace, now merged into Dresden Row, but after the death of Mr. Scott, he moved into the manse, at the corner of Pleasant and Bishop Streets. On May 7th, 1867, he married Jessie Lawson, the eldest daughter of William Lawson, a prosperous West Indian merchant, whose family had been established in the town ever since its foundation by Cornwallis, in 1749.¹

¹ An incident which happened at this time shows how jealousy he preserved his ministerial independence in his dealings with the congregation. A few of his wealthy members had privately agreed to furnish his manse from garret to cellar. On returning home one day, he found a new and costly carpet laid in his drawing-room. The mystery having been explained by his housekeeper, he at once proceeded to the donor and delivered himself of the following speech: "I am your clergyman, and in that capacity I may some day have a delicate task to perform. No carpet or other article of furniture shall rise up between me and my duty, and I must therefore ask you to lift the carpet, and take it back. The others who generously intended to do as you have done, must not go beyond intention."

CHAPTER VII

HOME MISSIONS, 1868-73

EARLY in 1868 Grant broke his long silence by an article in the *Record* on "Union," and in July of the same year his heart was gladdened by the union of the Church of Scotland in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island with that of New Brunswick. Once more in full accord with his brethren, and finding in the councils of the church the beginning of a broader spirit, he gladly accepted the convenership of the newly-appointed Home Mission Board, and was for five years its heart and soul. Perhaps he had himself learned a lesson. His temper was naturally violent, and only gradually did he acquire over it the almost complete mastery which characterized his later years. Some of his earlier utterances are marked by an academic dogmatism, and by unnecessary jibes which his maturer taste would have avoided. From the time of his marriage he was greatly helped by the restraining influence of his wife, whose sweet and gentle nature gained more and more power over him, till he came to have an almost unquestioning faith in her judgment, especially of character; more and more he learned from her caution and prudence, and the inward fire

PRINCIPAL GRANT

which consumed him gave forth not less heat but more light.

The difficulties which beset the church have been already sketched ; they were increased by the chaotic character of her relations with the colonial committee—ministers, congregations, presbyteries, all corresponding with the committee, and in too many cases finding it easier to lean upon the mother church than to rouse themselves to a sense of their own duty. The new board gave its convener a free hand, and though in the synod some grumbled at the increasing centralization, it was felt that he was too valuable to be dispensed with.

Such money as had been contributed locally had hitherto been collected semi-annually at the church door. In Halifax Grant roused into activity the dormant Lay Association, and a house to house collection was taken up, with gratifying results. Similar associations were formed in the other presbyteries ; the relations of the various ministers and congregations to the colonial committee were brought under the control of the board ; the money collected by the Lay Associations and those granted by the colonial committee were paid to the central treasury at Halifax. In 1872 he was able to report to the synod that the sums annually contributed by the colonial committee had been reduced from six thousand five hundred and forty-two dollars in 1868-9, to one thousand five hundred and forty dollars in 1871-2, and that for the next year only

HOME MISSIONS

one thousand and fifty dollars would be required; that of thirty-five congregations, all but ten were now self-sustaining; that the amount locally contributed for home mission purposes had increased from eight hundred dollars to two thousand three hundred dollars per year, and that the system of allocating missionaries was at once more economical for the church and more satisfactory to the missionaries.¹

In addition to this home mission work the church was also sending four hundred pounds per year to the support of the foreign mission scheme in the New Hebrides. But while this part of the work was increasingly satisfactory, church extension proved a harder problem. Every letter to the colonial committee is filled with appeals for more missionaries, Gaelic speaking if possible, but at all events, missionaries. Sometimes the frankness of his language sounds startling in an official communication. "Surely there are many young licentiates or chapel ministers in the church who are willing to come to their countrymen here. They would find a good climate, good society, fine people and plenty of work. What more does a man want?" But though some came, few remained, and his report in 1873, when he laid down the convenership, in spite of the striking financial success he had won, is gloomy and discouraging. We have no catechists,

¹ For a fuller treatment of this subject see "Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada," by the Rev. Wm. Gregg, M.A., D.D.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

he says in effect, no divinity students, no men to do the work of church extension; some come out yearly from Scotland, but every year more return than are sent; accustomed to an Establishment, they refuse to hold any collections other than those at the church door; again he urges the necessity of a native theological hall, but though the synod cordially approved, and though the colonial committee was now favourable, circumstances compelled him to wait.

As convener he visited every church and almost every mission-station in the synod, preaching, exhorting, expostulating. In September, 1871, he visited Prince Edward Island, and spent some days with a branch of the church not in connection with any presbytery. Originally organized by the Rev. Donald Macdonald, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, the members had added to their fervent Scottish piety an hysteric emotionalism which assumed extraordinary and even terrifying physical manifestations. But they were sound at heart, and Grant found the visit much more pleasant than he had anticipated. Writing to his wife he says:—

Sunday evening. “The scene in the church was strange and almost horrible; yet it did not affect me with the dislike I had feared beforehand. Fancy preaching to a crowded house, all deeply attentive and drinking in your words, when suddenly an unearthly scream is heard and a woman starts to her feet, clapping her hands and tossing her head

HOME MISSIONS

violently, and shouting some words such as, 'Glory to His Holy Name,' or 'Mercy,' or some Gaelic expression. Perhaps two or three others join in in different ways, with strange contortions, such as they would not be capable of in their ordinary physical state, till, after a few minutes, they sink back in their seats exhausted. Or perhaps a man with his deep bass strikes in so that in the babel of sounds the preacher is unheard. What are you to do ? I went on as if nothing had happened ; and the thing soon subsided ; but, as I said, it did not horrify or disgust me. In the course of the day perhaps about thirty or forty out of four hundred communicants yielded to those influences—chiefly women, and those of a sensitive or hysterical temperament. But they were all so evidently under deep religious feeling that one could neither mock nor oppose."

Sunday evening—to his brother Charles :—"I have just returned from assisting McColl here at his communion. Service lasted from 11 a.m. to 6.15 p.m., English and Gaelic alternating. I began with English till 12.30 ; McColl followed in Gaelic till 1.45 ; then came eight tables, four in Gaelic and four in English, an average of fifty at each table. I am pretty tired, as I have preached in four different places on the last four days of last week consecutively.

"De Sable church holds seven hundred. To-day one thousand people were in it and five hundred more outside. They are old Macdonald's people,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and under McColl now. They cling to Macdonald's rules and ways with great tenacity. The men sit in one part of the church, and the women in another; the elders in a great pew beneath the pulpit and lead the singing. All the tunes are the old Gaelic ones in the minor key. Of course the great characteristic of the people is their jerking, and shouting when specially excited, and the man that can so excite them they consider to be the holiest. As you may suppose, strong lungs, emphatic statement, and 'unction' are pretty sure to bring out 'the works.' For though Macdonald regarded them as the signs of the Spirit, they are physical and nervous entirely, though generally connected with highly wrought religious feelings. I was unfortunate enough to produce them to a much more considerable extent than usual; but I soon found out what subjects were most sure to evoke them, and by avoiding these, I had none of them at the last two tables I served. They are a primitive, and very kindly people; with good bodies, and good heads too; of a good stock, most of them Highland, but with a sprinkling of Lowlanders."

Monday evening—to his wife:—"To-day has been another day of hard work for me; and I am beginning to feel tired. Service commenced at 10 a.m. with half an hour of Gaelic by McColl; then I preached for an hour, there being about seven hundred and fifty people in the church; then Mr. Duncan, who had arrived in the meantime,

HOME MISSIONS

preached for another hour; then I baptized eighteen children; then there were devotional exercises and a collection. This brought us to 1.30; then the people were dismissed, and fifty or sixty elders remained in at my request. I brought the subject of 'union' before them in a long speech, for this was the first time it had ever been mentioned to them, they being all opposed to union and not readers of the *Record*; we talked of it for an hour and a half, and then I gave them a scolding for being a year in arrears with Mr. McColl's salary, and so finished the direct work of the day. I have to preach to-morrow in Cape Traverse, fourteen miles west from this, and the next day at Summerside, sixteen miles still further west. I'll not visit the island again in a hurry I think. But people are so kind, and so hungry for the Word of God that it is a pleasure to preach to them."

Thursday—to his wife:—"And now to resume my diary. I was exhausted on Monday evening, and didn't get up till 10.30 on Tuesday, and then there was one of the elders who talked me to death till one. After dinner, another elder, a fine Highlander, appeared to drive me fourteen miles westward to Cape Traverse (where the boats come in from Nova Scotia, and where there is a congregation of Macdonaldites). I put up there with one of our people—a thorough gentleman—Irving by name, a connection of Edward Irving. Went to the little church at six, and found it crowded; about

PRINCIPAL GRANT

one hundred and seventy present. Preached for two hours and the people were greatly impressed; and several cried out in a fearsome way. They would have done anything for me had I been able to stay; but I had engaged to go on next day twenty-one miles to Summerside; so, on the next day, one of the elders drove me on, and four or five other families abandoned their haying and came on too, to hear another sermon. There's hunger for you!

"I am not feeling one bit tired, and I think that I have done eight days of real good work. God grant that some good may have been done. I think that some good seed has been sown. It is a pleasure indeed to preach unto people whose only grief is that you are drawing to a close, and who will walk miles or drive tens of miles to hear the Word of God. I wish that Halifax,—St. Matthew's—people had the same spirit."¹

¹ See Appendix B. for a series of letters to his brother, which give graphic glimpses into the life and work of a busy minister.

CHAPTER VIII

“OCEAN TO OCEAN”

IN 1867 the western boundary of the Canadian confederacy was for all practical purposes Lake Huron and the state of Michigan. In 1869 we purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company the vast territory known as Rupert's Land, extending from Lake Huron to the Rockies, and in 1871 acquired Pacific frontage by union with the mountain province of British Columbia. The chief condition of this latter union was that a railway should at once be commenced, and completed within ten years, to join the newly acquired province with her elder sisters. “On the 20th July, '71, British Columbia entered the Dominion. On the same day surveying parties left Victoria for various points of the Rocky Mountains and from the Upper Ottawa westward; and all along the line surveys were commenced.” (*Ocean to Ocean*, p. 24). In the summer of 1872, Sandford Fleming,¹ the engineer in chief, resolved to see with his own eyes the main features of the country. On this expedition Grant accompanied him as secretary, and the results of the tour were embodied in the following year in his book, *Ocean to Ocean*.

¹ Now Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., Chancellor since 1880 of Queen's University.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Leaving Halifax on July 1st, the secretary joined the rest of the party in Toronto on the 15th. On the next day the expedition started, travelling by train to Collingwood, and thence by steamer to Port Arthur, then known as Prince Arthur's Landing. Then followed five hundred and forty miles by canoe, steamer and pack horse, along the Dawson route, the old track of the North-West Company to Fort Garry; thence chiefly on horseback, though accompanied by Red River carts and buckboards, eleven hundred miles through Fort Ellice, Fort Carleton, Fort Pitt, Fort Edmonton to Jasper House; thence six hundred and fifty miles by the Yellow Head Pass through the Rockies, down the North Thompson River to Kamloops, and through the Cascade Mountains to the sea. New Westminster was reached on October 4th; ten days were spent in visiting Victoria, Nanaimo, and other harbours on Vancouver Island and the mainland; boat was then taken to San Francisco, and the party returned via the Union and Central Pacific Railways. On November 2nd, Grant re-entered Halifax. His book closes with the expressive summary:—

Distance travelled by railway.....	957 miles
“ “ horses, including wagon, pack, and saddle horses..	2,185 “
“ “ steamers on St. Lawrence and Pacific waters	1,687 “
“ “ canoes and row boats.....	485 “

From Halifax to Victoria, between July 1st, and
October 11th..... 5,314 “

OCEAN TO OCEAN

His interest in Manitoba dated back to 1868. In that year the Red River settlement had been overwhelmed by a plague of grasshoppers, and Grant, on the solicitation of his friend Fleming, had collected three thousand dollars in Halifax for the starving community. "I could have collected the money quite as easily, and the givers would have given quite as intelligently, had the sufferers been in Central Abyssinia," he said later. His journey in 1872 revealed this unknown land alike to himself and to Nova Scotia. It is impossible to over-estimate the effect which it produced upon his mind and imagination. From that time he never wavered in his belief in the high destiny of Canada; the sight of the great North-West struck from his mind the unspoken fear which had haunted him since confederation. "This journey resolved the uneasy doubt in my mind as to whether or not Canada had a future; for from the day we left Collingwood till we reached Victoria, the great possibilities of our great North-West impressed us."¹

Our ignorance of our own resources, our lack of hope in a great national future were at this time widespread. Upper and Lower Canada had long been absorbed in a faction fight more favourable to the development of political shrewdness than of far-sighted statesmanship. The North-West was to the average man of that day a sub-arctic region, the prey of hailstorms, hostile Indians, and grass-

¹ "Thanksgiving and Retrospect." by G. M. Grant.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

hoppers, British Columbia a sea of mountains, New Ontario a barren wilderness effectually separating Eastern from Western Canada.

"No white man is known to have crossed from the Upper Ottawa to Lake Superior or Lake Winnipeg. There were maps of the country, dotted with lakes and lacustrine rivers here and there; but these had been made up largely from sketches on bits of birch-bark or paper and the verbal descriptions of Indians, and the Indian has little or no conception of scale or bearings. In drawing the picture of a lake, for instance, when his sheet of paper was too narrow, he would, without warning, continue the lake up or down the side, and naturally an erroneous idea of the surface of the country was given. A lake was set down right in the path of what otherwise was an eligible line, and, after great expense had been incurred, it was found that there was no lake within thirty miles of the point. In a word, the country between old Canada and the Red River was utterly unknown, except along the canoe routes travelled by Hudson Bay men north-west of Lake Superior." (*Ocean to Ocean.*)

Sir John Macdonald and the Conservative party were attacked for paying for Rupert's Land the price which now appears so small. On the publication of *Ocean to Ocean*, and on the delivery of some lectures¹ on the subject, Grant was assailed

¹ The proceeds of these were given to public objects, the dispensary receiving a special share. Lectures sometimes proved a convenient

OCEAN TO OCEAN

throughout Nova Scotia as the hireling of Sir John and of the still more hated Tupper. These lectures were instinct with the fever-heat of patriotism to which the vast potentialities of the prairie country had stirred him. His imagination was filled with the heroic dream which is now becoming a reality.

“Looking fairly at all the facts, admitting all the difficulties—and what country has not drawbacks?—it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that we have a great and fertile North-West, a thousand miles long, and from one to four hundred miles broad, capable of containing a population of millions. It is a fair land, rich in furs and fish, in treasures of the forest, the field, and the mine; seamed by navigable rivers, interlaced by numerous creeks, and beautified with a thousand lakes; broken by swelling uplands, wooded hillsides, and bold ridges; and protected on its exposed sides by a great desert or by giant mountains. The air is pure, dry, and bracing the year round, giving promise of health and strength of body, and length of days. Here we have a home for our own surplus population and for the stream of emigration that runs from northern and central Europe to America. Let it be opened up to the world by rail and steamboat, and in an incredibly short time the present gap between Manitoba and British Columbia will be filled

method of recruiting an exchequer left empty by his constant liberality. “So much for carpets,” is his note upon a cheque received in St. John.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

up, and a continuous line of loyal provinces extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

“From the sea-pastures and coal-fields of Nova Scotia and the forests of New Brunswick, almost from historic Louisburg up the St. Lawrence to historic Quebec; through the great province of Ontario, and on lakes that are seas; by copper and silver mines so rich as to recall stories of the Arabian Nights, though only the rim of the land has been explored; on the chain of lakes where the Ojibbway is at home in his canoe, to the plains, where the Cree is equally at home on his horse; through the prairie province of Manitoba, and rolling meadows and park-like country, out of which a dozen Manitobas shall be carved in the next quarter of a century; along the banks of

‘A full-fed river winding slow
By herds upon an endless plain,’

full-fed from the exhaustless glaciers of the Rocky Mountains, and watering ‘the great lone land’; over illimitable coal measures and deep woods; on to the mountains which open their gates, more widely than to our wealthier neighbours, to lead us to the Pacific; down deep gorges filled with mighty timber, beside rivers whose ancient deposits are gold beds, sands like those of Pactolus, and channels choked with fish; on to the many harbours of mainland and island, that look right across to the old Eastern Thule ‘with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces,’ and open their arms to welcome the

OCEAN TO OCEAN

swarming millions of Cathay ; over all this we had travelled, and it was all our own.

'Where's the coward that would not dare
To fight for such a land ?'

"Thank God we have a country. It is not our poverty of land or sea, of wood or mine that shall ever urge us to be traitors. But the destiny of a country depends not on its material resources. It depends on the character of its people. Here, too, is full ground for confidence. We in everything 'are sprung of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.' We come of a race that never counted the number of its foes, nor the number of its friends, when freedom, loyalty or God was concerned."

Yet Grant had little confidence in mere material resources. "Wealth may ruin but it cannot save a nation. A nation is saved by ideas; inspiring and formative ideas," he said later, and for mere material prosperity he had almost a contempt. He was proud of the physical greatness and of the resources of Canada, because he saw in them the raw material which could be worked up into a mighty nation. "He regarded Canada as the last clear field given by a beneficent Creator in which the children of men could have scope, untrammelled by ancient institutions, to work out the best ideas derived from the experience of the past." The greater the country, the wider was the field, the more favourable the conditions for the experiment.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

His prophecy that he would live to see Manitoba and the Territories export twenty million bushels of wheat was derided; he lived to see their exports of wheat fifty-five million bushels, and to know that this was but the foretaste of what a few years would bring.

His return journey by the Union Pacific took away all fear that we could not compete with the United States: "And how does the country crossed by the Union and Central Pacific Railway compare with our own North-West, has been asked us since our return. Comparisons are odious, and therefore the answer shall be as brief as possible. The Pacific slope excepted, for there is nothing in British Columbia to compare with the fertile valleys of California, everything is so completely in our favour that there is no comparison except the old racing one of 'Eclipse first and the rest nowhere.' California itself, though its yield of wheat in favourable years is marvellous, is not a country to rear a healthy and hardy race. There is no summer or autumn rainfall, the air is without its due proportion of moisture, and the lack of moisture is supplied by dust. The people look weary and used up. In the course of a generation or two, unless a constant infusion of new blood renews their strength, the influence of climate must tell disastrously, not only on their physique but on their whole spirit and life. Are Anglo-Saxons secure from falling into the same sleepy and unprogressive

OCEAN TO OCEAN

state that the energetic Spaniards who first settled the country soon sank into?"

Thus without fear he called upon Canada to "rise up and build," though from the first he saw that the light-hearted promise of a railway in ten years would prove impossible of fulfilment. "At the time, the finances of Canada were flourishing, her revenues were expanding, and the discovery of her great North-West had inflamed her imagination. It had come to be considered that a railway could be flung across the Rocky Mountains as easily as across a hay field." (*Scribner's Magazine*, 1880). When failure became evident much ill-feeling was aroused; British Columbia talked secession and many Canadians repudiation. From both extremes Grant stood aloof. National obligations were paramount; the railway must be built and speedily, but the contract could not be carried out to the letter; British Columbia must give a reasonable extension of time. He did not fully see to how great an extent in modern times railways must not follow but create traffic. In 1876 he considered that "the safe policy would be, not to begin construction from the Pacific side until a million of people had actually settled in the North-West," but that the railway should be pushed from the eastern side and kept just in advance of settlement. Even in 1880 he was doubtful of the wisdom of immediate construction. But when in 1881 the days of doubt and hesitation came to an end, and the

PRINCIPAL GRANT

great company was formed which so quickly carried through the work, his voice was steadfastly lifted in its support, and he never faltered in his belief in its capacity and its integrity.

In the merits of the Peace River country he was from the first a believer, and always held that the Yellow Head, the Peace River, or the Pine River passes were more suitable than the Kicking Horse route. He speaks of "the extraordinary fertility of immense prairies along the Peace River, the salubrity and the comparative mildness of the climate;" it is "a charming country, rich in soil, wood, water, and coal, in salt that can be gathered fit for the table from the sides of springs with as much ease as sand from the seashore; in bituminous fountains into which Sir Alexander Mackenzie and Harmon both say that 'a pole of twenty feet in length may be plunged without the least resistance, and without finding bottom,' and in every other production that is essential to the material prosperity of a country."

Ocean to Ocean itself is an admirable book of travel. His notes were written at the end of long day's marches, by the flickering light of the camp fire, and the book was published early in the next year, but of this haste no trace is evident. From cover to cover it has the merit of being interesting; it is full of vigour and dash, giving a succession of pictures of men and events in which the most graphic word is invariably found with apparent ease. Who can

OCEAN TO OCEAN

forget Terry, the Irish cook, a good servant, a good tailor, a good cobbler, but who, unfortunately, had joined the expedition in order to learn the rudiments of cooking; or Brown and Beaupré, the half-breeds, one Scotch and one French; or the group of Indians—Keasis, the Little Bird, with his great sickness, and the wonderful results produced thereon by a dose of castor oil; Souzie, the Cree, whose magnificent appetite revelled even in Terry's cooking; the uncomplaining Valad, and the noble Iroquois of the Dawson route. Their silent fortitude, their honesty, their good nature, their self-respect and high-bred bearing deeply impressed him. Here is a picture of a chief met on the Dawson route:—

“He came with only one attendant, but two or three canoes made their appearance about the same time with other Indians, squaws and papooses, who squatted in groups on the banks at respectful distances. The old Indian came up with a ‘B’jou, B’jou,’ shook hands all around, and then drawing himself up—knife in one hand, big pipe in the other, the emblems of war and peace—commenced a long harangue. We didn’t understand a word, but one of the men roughly interpreted, and the speaker’s gestures were so expressive that the drift of his meaning could be easily followed. Pointing, with outstretched arms, north, south, east and west, he told us that all the land had been his people’s, and that he now, in their name, asked for some return for our passage through it. The bearing and

PRINCIPAL GRANT

speech were those of a born orator. He had good straight features, a large Roman nose, square chin, and as he stood over six feet in his moccasins, his presence was most commanding. One great secret of impressive gesticulation—the free play of the arm from the shoulder, instead of the cramped motion of the elbow—he certainly knew. It was astonishing with what dignity and force, long, rolling, musical sentences poured from the lips of one who would be carelessly classed by most people as a savage, to whose views no regard should be paid. When ended he took a seat on a hillock with the dignity natural to every real Indian, and began to smoke in perfect silence. He had said his say, and it was our turn now.”

Of our own treatment of them, as compared with that of the United States, Grant is full of pride, and especially urges the generous fulfilment alike in letter and in spirit, of every promise made to them. “To break a treaty made with these old lords and sons of the soil, would be worse than to break one made with a nation able to resent a breach of faith.” The high-bred dignity of the true Indian appealed keenly to his Celtic instincts. “Her Majesty has expressed herself as struck with the gentlemanly demeanour of the poorest Highlander. Well, the Indian is as far above the Highlander in this characteristic as the Highlander is above the Saxon.” (*Good Words*, 1874.)

The most widely separated types are drawn

OCEAN TO OCEAN

with kindly human charity not inconsistent with a humorous insight into their frailties. In the heart of the Rockies the party met with a solitary gold miner.

“Two miles farther on, the sound of a bell was heard. Jack said it must be the bell horse of another pack-train; but in a few minutes a solitary traveller, walking beside his two laden horses, emerged from the woods ahead. He turned out to be one John Glen, a miner, on his way to prospect for gold on hitherto untried mountains and sand-bars. Here was a specimen of Anglo-Saxon self-reliant individualism more striking than that pictured by Quinet of the American settler, without priest or captain at his head, going out into the deep woods or virgin lands of the new continent to find and found a home. John Glen calculated that there was as good gold in the mountains as had yet come out of them, and that he might strike a new bar or gulch that might pan out as richly as Williams Creek, Cariboo; so putting blankets and bacon, flour and frying pan, shining pick-axe and shovel on his horses, and sticking revolver and knife in his waist, off he started from Kamloops to seek ‘fresh fields and pastures new.’ Nothing to him was lack of company or of newspapers; short days and approach of winter; seas of mountains and grassless valleys, equally inhospitable; risk of sickness and certainty of storms; slow and exhausting travel through marsh and muskeg, across roaring mountain torrents and miles of fallen

PRINCIPAL GRANT

timber; lonely days and lonely nights;—if he found gold he would be repaid. Prospecting was his business, and he went about it in a simple matter-of-course style, as if he were doing business on 'change. John Glen was to us a typical man, the modern missionary, the martyr for gold, the advance guard of the army of material progress. And who will deny or make light of his virtue, his faith, such as it was? His self-reliance was sublime. Compared to his, how small the daring and pluck of even Milton and Cheadle! God save thee, John Glen! and give thee thy reward!"

For the things of the table he shows the hearty love of the hungry traveller. The glories of Kamloops beef, of the Doctor's plum pudding made of berry-pemmican and boiled in Terry's sugar-bag, and of the mild toddy brewed at the conclusion of a hard day's ride, are fittingly extolled. In V's Cache, after crossing the Thompson River, the travellers, wet, tired and hungry, find a splendid collection of canned meats, and over the "crowning mercy" of "half a dozen of Bass's pale ale, with the familiar face of the red pyramid brand," the enthusiastic secretary fairly sings a pæan of praise.

To all self-denying missionary enterprise, of whatever church, he is careful to give its meed of praise. For some time their companion was the Rev. Mr. McDougal, a Methodist missionary for whom the whole party soon came to feel the deepest affection, and the memory of whose friendship Grant ever

OCEAN TO OCEAN

cherished as one of his most precious possessions. The Roman Catholic mission at St. Albert especially impressed him with the Christian common sense of the priests, combined with "that devotedness which is a matter of course with them." "The gentle Christian courtesy and lady-like manners of the sisters charmed us, while the knowledge of the devoted lives they lead must impress with profound respect Protestants and Roman Catholics alike. Each one would have adorned a home of her own, but she had given up all for the sake of her Lord and His little ones." Sunday was strictly observed as a day of rest, and every Sabbath morning, white, half-breed, and Indian, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Episcopal and Presbyterian gathered to offer up worship to the great Father of all.

Ocean to Ocean made a sensation, and several editions were called for. It revealed Grant to the people of Nova Scotia as he had never been known before. Above all it revealed to Canada the glories of her northern and western territories, and did not a little to steel the hearts of many through the dark days that were to come.

CHAPTER IX

UNION

THE desire for union between the various branches of Canadian Presbyterianism had for some time been increasing, and was strengthened by political federation. Separation had been natural while congregations largely, and ministers almost invariably, had been but recently transplanted from Scotland ; but a native laity and a native clergy had grown up, to whose ears the noise of Old World battles sounded very far away and unreal. The union of Burghers and Anti-Burghers in 1817, was the first of six coalitions, with the result that in 1868 there were four separate organizations—the Synod of the Lower Provinces, the Synod of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland, the General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church, and the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church in connection with the Church of Scotland. In 1870 negotiations for a seventh and final union were begun, and in 1875 were carried to a successful conclusion. Union was the watchword of Grant's whole political and ecclesiastical career, and for four years he lost no opportunity, in public and in private, of trying to allay the distrust and suspicion of his co-presbyters, for, as always, the smallest of

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the four bodies was the most unwilling to abandon its independence. He paid several visits to Montreal as a delegate from his synod, usually going on to Toronto and Ottawa to consult with his friends Macdonnell¹ and Gordon,² and thus becoming comparatively familiar with the chief men and questions before the public eye in Upper Canada. Throughout the synod he lectured and preached, and in private exerted all his rare personal influence with the timorous and the doubtful. Though with no great enthusiasm, the majority of the synod finally consented to the union, which was consummated in Montreal on June 15th, 1875. This was in some ways the proudest day in Grant's career. He had been unanimously chosen moderator of the little synod, which met on the morning of that day for the last time as an independent body. Led by their moderator, the members marched from St. Gabriel's Church to Victoria Hall; through each of the four doors streamed in a long procession, amid vast cheering and clapping of hands, and with tears of gladness in the eyes of not a few, as they saw the breaches of their long-loved Zion now so grandly restored.

Short religious exercises followed, in which it fell to Grant to give out the 100th Psalm; the Articles

¹ The late Rev. D. J. Macdonnell, minister of St. Andrew's Church, Toronto.

² The Rev. D. M. Gordon, then minister of St. Andrew's Church, Ottawa; now principal of Queen's University.

UNION

of Union were read, and subscribed by each of the four moderators, who then clasped hands in token of fellowship. "The moderator of the synod of the Lower Provinces then solemnly declared that the four churches were now united, and formed one church to be designated and known as the Presbyterian Church in Canada."¹

This happy consummation had not been brought about without labour. The Very Rev. Dr. Macrae, the late principal of Morrin College, Quebec, gives a glimpse of Grant's share in it:—"In 1871 the Kirk synod met in St. Matthew's, and the movement began which culminated in the union of the Presbyterian Churches in Canada. I was keenly interested in the question and passed a sleepless night before the day appointed for its discussion, but had no intention whatever of taking a prominent part in arguing in its favour. Passing the window of St. Matthew's manse, on my return home from a walk before breakfast, your father hailed me, and insisted that I should open the campaign; his contention being that, for certain reasons, no other of our Kirk ministers could hope to carry the Pictou elders. It was to no purpose to refuse; he would have his way. I refer to this merely to illustrate one marked feature of his character; his adroitness in guiding the movements of a church court, or other public

¹ Gregg's "Short History." By a striking coincidence, the moderator was the Rev. P. G. McGregor, son of the celebrated Dr. McGregor, first moderator of the synod of Nova Scotia.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

body, by inducing others to perform certain work, the direction of which remained none the less in his own hands."

Writing to his brother in June, 1871, Grant says:—"What with the synod and the weddings this has been a busy week. The manse, and its garden for the smokers, was a great resort. I had three elders here—old Holmes, John McKay (surefooted deacon) and ——. I nabbed Holmes to keep him to myself safe on the union question. He came to synod, determined to oppose it; so did a number of others. But we carried it unanimously. Strange, wasn't it? The explanation is that everything favoured us. Macrae of Newfoundland did good service by capital speaking, and he was a new and unexpected force on our side. John McKay and I fairly overpowered Holmes, first into a resolution not to oppose, and then the old man conceived the idea that he would go in for union and make them all Kirkmen. And why not? Then the idea that we were going to unite with our own church in old Canada made the old people feel that it was not simply a union with Anti-Burghers. And above all we felt that the over-ruling hand of God was in the matter, and I think no one felt bold enough to oppose. As it is, the twenty-four delegates from the four supreme courts are to meet in Montreal in October and endeavour to draw up a basis of union to be submitted to their respective courts next spring, and then if approved to be sent down

UNION

to presbyteries and congregations. The union may take place next year."

Writing home on June 17th, 1875, he says: "The union is consummated, Dr. Cook is moderator of the Assembly, and in his opening speech struck a grand keynote. Last night the citizens entertained us at a social reception—about 8,500 present. Eleven speakers, and I may safely say I was the lion of the evening, through what one man called 'my enormous common sense.' The others spoke too long, and as they could not be heard, they wearied the people. Seeing that, I spoke with emphasis for two minutes and sat down. The applause was terrific. I was encored till I had to re-appear, and promise that I would speak at the close of the meeting on the night following. It is a great occasion; three ministers of the Canada Presbyterian Church and seven of the Kirk hold out; all the Lower Province Church go in, and all ours but the Pictou county men, and I am certain that they will be in very soon."¹

¹ The following table shows the material success of the union :—

	1875	1908
Ministers in charge.....	627	1,218
" without charge.....	27	191
" received from sister churches ..	12	22
Missionaries in foreign field.....	16	158
" " home field	150	583
" " French-Canadian field....	28	68
Congregations (self-sustaining).....	570	791
" (augmented)	136	206
Communicants	88,228	222,031

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Grant's speech on this occasion was even shorter than appears from his own description. Old sores were still raw, and through the proceedings there had run a slight but dangerous note of irritation, not softened by several rather prosy speeches. At their conclusion, the chairman, with the suspicion of a sneer, announced that, "We will now listen to the lion of Halifax," a name which had been given to him by the Rev. Dr. Ormiston, of New York. Grant made his way, not without difficulty, to the platform, and stretching out his arm, said slowly, in his clear, rich voice: "Beloved, let us love one another; for love is of God, and every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God."¹ There was a moment's pause, and then the cheering began.

One drop of gall was in his cup, a drop which went far to take away all its sweetness. After long hesitation, with many searchings of heart, the presbytery of Pictou had proved hostile. "We had either to abandon the proposed union or to see our synod broken into two, and to part from old friends and fellow-workers, some of whom regarded us as traitors to them and to our past. Sorrowfully we chose the latter alternative, the hours of decision being perhaps the bitterest some of us ever knew." (*Thanksgiving and Retrospect*). In Pictou county

¹ I. John iv. 7. This was the text of a sermon preached on the previous Sunday to the members of the Assembly by the Rev. Patrick Gray, of Chalmers' Church, Kingston. The sermon had made a great impression on its hearers, and Grant's reference to it at once recalled them to their higher selves.

UNION

the feud had been not only religious, but political and personal. For many, union with the Anti-Burghers meant union with political antagonists and personal foes. They had borne the burden and heat of the day, and could not now declare that the old watchwords had grown meaningless. Not without regret and hesitation was their decision made. Grant's hopes had been high. The ministers were favourable, or at worst neutral, but in the laity, as often, the fires of fanaticism burnt far more fiercely. Had there been one who dared to risk all for the sake of a great cause, he might even at the eleventh hour have carried the day ; but no hero appeared, and the clergy were swept away by the sterner spirit of their people.

Hardly was the house completed when its stability was put to a severe test. The largest and most active segment of the union was the Canada Presbyterian Church. No other had more of the fine Scottish morale, no other had so largely aided home and foreign missions, or shown greater zeal in the cause of education. To these qualities was joined a somewhat excessive desire for absolute doctrinal "soundness," and a firm resolve to show the other branches of the church that they, at least, held fast to the faith. They did not long lack opportunity. On September 26th, 1875, the Rev. D. J. Macdonnell, of St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, preached a sermon in which certain doubts were thrown on the doctrine of an unconditional and conscious

PRINCIPAL GRANT

eternity of punishment for all who died impenitent. His position sprang rather from what Principal Caven afterwards called his "fastidious conscience," than from any incipient scepticism. By the words of Scripture he felt absolutely bound, but comparing Scripture with Scripture, he seemed to find certain passages which rendered doubt permissible. The tide of orthodox dissatisfaction soon rose high against him, and it seemed as if many would be satisfied with nothing less than his exclusion from the church.

Grant's letters show his own position. Writing to his friend Miss Machar¹ on October 20th, 1875, he says:—"To serve Macdonnell I would gladly go to Toronto, or to the Rocky Mountains, but it would do him dis-service were I to appear at the presbytery. Perhaps, too, it may be kept out of the church courts. I see no call for bringing it there. His Knox College speech was all right, and would have evoked no rejoinder had it not been for the feeling aroused by the sermon, and had it not been for the presence of that Orangeman, Robb,² to whom the word 'ritual' is what a red rag is to a bull. As for the sermon, he seems to me to have been injudicious, (1) in preaching about

¹ The celebrated Canadian authoress and artist, widely known as "Fidelia."

² The Rev. James Gardner Robb, D.D., minister at this time of Cooke's Church, Toronto. Ordained originally in the Irish Presbyterian Church, he came to Canada in 1874, but returned in 1878 to Ireland, where he died in 1881. His ability as a debater was remarkable. In the

UNION

what he himself has not fixed opinions on. We go to the pulpit to announce God's truth, not to indulge speculations. Any part of God's truth we are not clear upon, not clear, that is, as to what the truth on the subject is, we had better keep for our study, for further thought, for discussion with trusted friends. (2) In preaching upon 'a burning' question in an excited way, even telling the people that he was excited. There's no need of calling attention to the fact that you are excited. That only confuses people and excites the ignorant to an altogether extraordinary pitch. (3) In taking the position of an advocate on the heterodox side, after confessing that there were passages on the other side so strong that they could not honestly be explained away. He might have left the two sets of passages to the calm thought of any of his people who are able calmly to consider the question.

"Still, if the matter goes into the church courts, I back him through and through. He is too honest, too able, too noble a fellow to have a hair of his head harmed by fools. But usually his head is so 'level' that I cannot understand his indiscretion, especially at this time. The battle for liberality in construing the confession may have to be fought soon, but he might have allowed us a year or two

Assembly of 1876, probably the best exhibition of dialectics was the duel between himself and Grant. Each was avowedly partisan, without the slightest attempt to sympathize with the position of the other. But as examples of dialectical skill both speeches rank high.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

first to shake down together into something like knowledge and love of one another. However, the Lord reigns."

But though Grant considered the sermon hasty and indiscreet, an opinion in which Macdonnell himself concurred, the attempt to drive his friend from the church roused his deepest indignation. If to be a follower of Christ is to be a Christian, he knew no man in Canada who walked so close in the footsteps of his Master as did James Macdonnell, and the mere thought of the spiritual agony which expulsion or censure would inflict on such a man was unendurable. Yet similar blunders were scattered with melancholy frequency along the whole course of the church's history. "The ablest expounder of the New Testament that I heard when a student in Scotland, was Morrison, the founder of the Evangelical Union. Him the United Presbyterian Church cast out. The holiest man I ever knew was John McLeod Campbell, whose work on the Atonement is the most valuable contribution to that great subject that the nineteenth century has produced. Him the Church of Scotland cast out. The most brilliant scholar I ever met, a man who could have done the church greater service than any other English writer in the field of historical criticism, where service is most needed, was Robertson Smith. Him the Free Church of Scotland cast out from his chair. Of course, these churches are ashamed of themselves now, but think of what they lost, think

UNION

of what Christ lost by their sin, and if, where such vast interests are concerned, we may think of individuals, think of the unspeakable crucifixion of soul that was inflicted on the victims." (*Speech before the World's Parliament of Religions, Chicago, 1893*).

In 1874, speaking at Montreal in the Evangelical Alliance on, "The Church of Canada: Is such a thing possible?" Grant had urged that charity and wise coöperation might in the fulness of time bring to being in the Dominion the greatest of national churches. "God will give us the church of the future. It shall arise in the midst of us, with no sound of hammer heard upon it, comprehensive of all the good and beauty that He has ever evolved in history. To this church, Episcopacy shall contribute her comely order, her faithful and loving conservatism; and Methodism impart her enthusiasm, her zeal for missions, and her ready adaptiveness to the necessities of the country; the Baptist shall give his full testimony to the sacred rights of the individual; the Congregationalist his to the freedom and independency of the congregation; and Presbytery shall come in her massive, well-knit strength, holding high the Word of God; and when, or even before, all this comes to pass, that is, when we have proved our Christian charity, as well as our faithfulness, proved it by deeds, not words, who shall say that our Roman Catholic brethren, also, shall not see eye to eye with us, and seal with their consent that true unity, the image of which they so fondly

PRINCIPAL GRANT

love? Why not? God can do greater things even than this. And who of us shall say, God forbid!"

As if in mocking answer to his question, came the spectacle of the majority of the newly united Presbyterian body attempting to cast out their holiest and their best rather than allow a temporary suspension of judgment on a doctrinal question confessedly obscure. Small wonder that he says, "When I think of the material the Lord has to build his temple with, I don't wonder at the slowness with which the building proceeds."

It is not to be inferred that he agreed with Macdonnell's point of view. Writing to Miss Machar on November 12th, 1875, he says:—"Macdonnell's letter is like himself—truth, and fearlessness that is so great that it can afford to be gentle and conciliatory. As to James's views, or rather your views about ultimate restoration, I cannot accept them. Surely if any words in the Bible are to be regarded, the Lord's words must. They are 'pure' words. Well, His teaching is so absolute on the subject that language could not make it clearer. But I do not care to argue on the subject. It is beyond us. These things we know: that sin, the Saviour's atonement, the wrath of God, are realities, and I fear that any discussion whatsoever on them tends to shake the already too little estimate of them that men have. There are some subjects, and these the deepest and tenderest, that it is best to contemplate in silence with awe

UNION

and holy fear, and I do dread a General Assembly discussion on such a subject as the eternity or non-eternity of punishment. But still I would rather have the General Assembly debate on any subject than that Macdonnell should injure the truthfulness of his moral fibre. He must at all hazards be true to himself."

January 4th, 1876:—"As to the controversy on eternal punishment, I too can say, 'My heart within me pleads,' and the effect of that is to make me disinclined to controversy, for with McLeod Campbell I feel that restorationism is 'not revealed,' and that we have no right to feed our minds with vain imaginings. Laon's remarks on Macdonnell's readiness to accept the unmistakable teaching of Scripture prove that he does not understand any question connected with the infinite and the eternal. But the doctrine of eternal punishment is not one for light remarks on the street, or heated discussion in church courts or church assemblings. It is to be received—if received at all—with awe unspeakable, with tears, with holy submission to Him who must do all things justly and lovingly. Here's a story of Erskine on the subject. A lady of the Edinburgh school said to him, 'Have you heard that Mr. X. is dead?' 'Yes.' 'He did not know God on earth, I wonder where he is now.' 'Perhaps he is learning.' 'Ay, but where?' pressed she, gloating over the idea of eternal hell. 'In the nursery, perhaps,' was the reply as he turned away. And so I, too, indulge

PRINCIPAL GRANT

a hope. More we cannot indulge. And with different minds the hope will be more or less faint. But to preach such a hope! No, no—I dare not.”

In 1876 he was sent by the United Church as a delegate to the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, but rushed home in time to be present at the Canadian Assembly in Toronto.

Writing from Scotland to his wife, he recurs to the same subject: “We are only children, grown somewhat bigger. Where shall we spend our manhood, and in what respects shall it differ from our child life? We can guess little better—ah, not so well—as children can of the life of manhood. All that we know, and it is enough, is that they who are the Lord’s shall be with the Lord.”

To Miss Machar, July 18th, 1876:—“The whole attitude of the Assembly was to me very disappointing. It was impossible, without doing injury to Macdonnell, to take vigorously the stand that one would have most wished to take. But we must have patience. Large bodies move slowly, but what is the use of a few individuals moving? Unless the mass is brought with us, the only result is to establish a chasm between the few and the many. In time the heaven will work, and the patience of God should teach us to exercise patience. As to the doctrine itself, I am more and more disposed to make the acceptance of it an open question, for the extreme to which some went has driven me, and I dare say many others, to a position that we would

UNION

not ourselves, perhaps, have taken, or at any rate, not so soon. My feeling now is that the mind of the Lord was to confine the thoughts of men to present duty and the necessity of immediate repentance, and to take away from them the terribly subtle temptation to postpone, which is the most dangerous of all temptations; that He therefore spake absolutely, and that we are bound to have regard to His awful words and warnings; but that when we go so far as to shut out all hope, or positively declare that the conscious suffering of the wicked shall be eternal as God Himself, we import into His words more than they really contain."

The result of this discussion was to defer settlement of the case for a year. Both sides made great preparations for the Assembly of 1877, which was held in Halifax, in St. Matthew's Church.¹ His letters to Miss Machar show Grant's attitude towards Macdonnell and his opponents.

May 16th, 1877:—"As to Macdonnell's statement, it certainly is more positive than I thought he was prepared to give, though, in the light of all that he has said already, I don't think that any

¹ While the Assembly was sitting, they were startled by the news of the great fire in St. John, which left one-half of the city in ashes. Busy though he was, Grant took charge of the meeting of the citizens, which was held in Temperance Hall. As he entered, a barefooted newsboy shyly handed him a dollar for the fund. On this modern version of the widow's mite Grant delivered an address which roused the audience to such enthusiasm that before they broke up, over ten thousand dollars had been added to the one which proudly headed the list.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

one could call it Jesuitical, and I *know* that it is not considered satisfactory by his enemies, and that they will still fight to try and extrude him. We have to meet a packed Assembly, but we shall do our best. James, it may fairly be argued, has already been frank enough, or too frank for a court, and he is not required to put weapons into the hands of his enemies to be used against him, enemies who have shown themselves incapable of appreciating trust and generous frankness."

So bitter was the feeling that a large minority, of whom Grant was one, would probably have broken up the newly-formed union rather than sacrifice Macdonnell, and with him liberty of thought and speech.¹ A compromise was finally arranged, and the following statement, drawn up by a committee, of which the convener was the Rev. Dr. Jenkins, minister of St. Paul's, Montreal, was signed by Macdonnell, and unanimously accepted as satisfactory by the Assembly :—

"That Mr. Macdonnell, in intimating in his last statement to the General Assembly his adherence

¹ "At the Toronto Assembly in 1876," writes an eye-witness, "the friends of Mr. Macdonnell met at the close of the sederunt. After a general discussion, Grant said : 'If they are determined to push the matter in this spirit, let us demand that they repose us, and let us have peace and liberty.' Professor MacKerras at once stood up and with great earnestness said : 'No, that will never do ; we must maintain our union at all hazards.' The majority of us intimated fervent agreement with MacKerras, and I never heard a second proposal of separation."

UNION

to the Confession of Faith, intends to be understood as saying :

“ ‘I consider myself as under subscription to the Confession of Faith in accordance with my ordination vows, and I therefore adhere to the teaching of the church as contained therein on the doctrine of the eternity, or endless duration of the future punishment of the wicked, notwithstanding doubts or difficulties which perplex my mind.’ ”

“ The committee, therefore, unanimously recommend that this statement be accepted as satisfactory, and that further proceedings be dropped.”

In the judgment of the present day, it reads almost like a victory for the most uncompromising orthodoxy ; but for the combatants at the time it had a very different ring. On June 30th, 1877, Grant writes to Miss Machar :—

“ It was a capital Assembly, good in every respect, and especially wonderful in the ending of the Macdonnell case. Your astonishment is natural, and you err in supposing that Dr. Jenkins’ tactics had much to do with it. The explanation I can hardly give, because I can only guess the innermost thoughts of the leaders of the majority. Certain facts, however, may partly explain the result. The majority were beaten in debate and they could hardly help feeling it. They were also forced to see that the utmost they could do against him was to send the case to the presbytery with instructions to proceed by libel. That would take another year,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and would probably end in failure. They were also made to see the possibility of collision with the civil courts; and that the minority were compact, determined, and strong, and also would be strongly supported by public opinion. Again, we had got the Halifax press unanimously into line on our side,¹ and the social influences to which they were subjected from day to day told heavily on many of their followers, who intimated, not obscurely, to the

¹ This unanimity on the part of the press was due to Grant's skilful handling. The influence of newspapers he could on occasion disparage. Writing to a friend on January 4th, 1876, he says: "Perhaps I under-rate the effect of newspaper controversy, but really a newspaper is something so ephemeral that I can never think of it with respect. Several times I have wondered at the importance attached by you to an anonymous expression or article in one of these ephemeral productions. I am not criticizing, remember, but telling you my own standpoint. I would rather let the thing alone were I concerned, for less and less is the newspaper, and, indeed, man's judgment in my estimation as years roll on. Let them say and let us build." But this is little more than a passing fling, which his next letter easily refutes: "You often, as Mr. Romanes puts it, 'uproot a fallacy very prettily.' Thus, in your last to me, referring to my words about the ephemeral nature of newspaper writing, you say, 'The newspaper itself is ephemeral, yet not so ephemeral as spoken words, and both sometimes leave undying traces.' Capital! I am routed and convinced in a single sentence. There is argument, illustration, and moral earnestness compacted together. Now I don't write this in an assuming way, as if I could teach you anything in style, or anything else; but simply because I must speak and write frankly or not at all. I give offence often, but I would rather do that than add to the insincerity so frightfully common now-a-days." But though, when his mind was made up, he cared little for the praise or blame of newspapers, he well knew their importance. In spite of his pronounced views on political and social topics he was on terms of intimacy with all the editors in Halifax, and, at the time of the Macdonnell trial, for several days all the editorials on the subject, in all the city papers, were either written or inspired by him.

UNION

leaders, after the first vote, that they were not disposed to follow them much further. That we gained a great practical victory is universally felt here ; all the more so that the two speeches made by the representatives of the majority, immediately before the committee was appointed, stoutly asserted that neither doubts nor difficulties could be tolerated. I was determined, therefore, that both words should be in the statement, and as they had insisted on a new subscription, I was determined that his adherence should be simply in consequence of his ordination. Hence the 'therefore' in the statement, a word they strongly objected to, but which I insisted upon and carried. The effects of this victory will be very great on all sides. Even their followers feel that they were brought down to Halifax only to surrender ; and they will not follow so readily the next time. Besides the next time will be long in coming. They will not expose themselves in a hurry to such a toil and trouble for nothing. And if they do we shall be prepared, and we now know whom to trust and what to do. Altogether, there are great compensations for the worry and anxiety that this case has caused, and I rejoice exceedingly. Had they accepted his first statement this year the victory would have actually been theirs, but by pressing for more they lost all. They put him before the public in his original position ; and they have legitimized doubts, difficulties and perplexities to any extent as far as other ministers and other

PRINCIPAL GRANT

doctrines are concerned ; and that, too, in the face of our declarations that doubt necessarily involved a measure of mental suspense."

Once the struggle was over, both sides quickly settled down to more constructive work. The battle had really done good ; either party had expressed its opinion frankly and fearlessly, and, as the debate proceeded, the divisions had been less and less along the old lines of cleavage. By a somewhat rough process the different members of the Assembly had come to know each other. Writing to his wife, Grant says:—"After all, this Macdonnell trouble has done good in fusing us together, and making us understand each other, as we could not have understood one another at half a dozen ordinary Assemblies. It has been a fine gladiatorial exhibition, and on the whole conducted in a good spirit."

In 1876 he was sent as delegate to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Even on ship-board he could not rest, but organized prayer-meetings every evening in the steerage, "attended by two-thirds of the steerage, and one-third of the cabin passengers," followed by a sacred concert in the saloon. His task in Scotland was delicate. The Assembly was inclined to be suspicious, and the colonial committee was presided over by the Rev. R. H. Muir, whose doubts approached open hostility. The sixteen Kirk ministers who had remained outside the union (seven in Upper Canada and nine in Pictou county), claimed to be the remnant which

UNION

alone had remained faithful, and had sent as delegates to the Assembly the Rev. Gavin Lang and the Rev. R. McCunn, who laid claim to all the financial aid which was received from the parent church. Dr. Muir, of whose purblind honesty there was no doubt, considered that "neutrality" would be obtained by giving an equal allowance to either body, to which solution the delegates from the United Church naturally objected. Grant's powers of persuasion, public and private, proved useful, and he finally won over the Assembly, though the attitude of the convener long continued unsatisfactory. Writing to his wife he says:—

May 20th, 1876:—"Well, the agony is over and we have succeeded. I spoke yesterday under great difficulties in the Assembly, and the *Glasgow News* that I send you will show that I didn't do badly. I had a week of as hard work as ever I had, but it has not been for nothing, and I am glad that I came over. I think that things have been so set that they'll be kept right now, for I have got Charles, Finlay McDonald, and other friends on the colonial committee, and they are in perfect accord with me. And it was all managed without an open fight in the Assembly, though Muir held out till within half an hour of our speaking, and we had all our arrangements for a fight made. But say nothing on this.

"Tuesday was a busy day, writing letters and concocting with Jenkins and Paton the kind of deliver-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

ance we wish the Assembly to pass. We called on Dr. Archie Scott, as he has influence in the church, and talked the subject over with him,—‘discoorsed him.’ After lunch Dr. Jenkins and I went to Merchison Castle, where I saw young Doull and the other Halifax boys. They were all glad to see me, especially as I brought with me half a hundred weight of maple sugar from James B. Duffus. Next morning went to the U. P. Synod and found that all foreign delegates were to be heard that afternoon. At 12.30 met the F. C. colonial committee, and explained the way in which we wished them to coöperate with us and send ministers to us. They assented to all I proposed and were most cordial. I consented to preach for one of them, in Free St. Stephen’s on Sunday next. At 1.30 met a committee that was arranging for a meeting of representatives of all Presbyterian Churches in Edinburgh next year; at 2.30 went to the U. P. Synod. They had delegates from Norway, the Netherlands, Geneva, the United States, England, but my speech was really the most successful. They were a most sympathetic audience, though without the dignity of either Assembly, and after I spoke more than a dozen of my old college friends crowded around me congratulating me most heartily. It was very pleasant.

“Next day drove with Dr. Jenkins to the levée; there met Dr. Monro and learned that the colonial committee were to have another meeting that after-

UNION

noon. Muir had gathered his satellites together, and a printed letter had come from Lang with two hundred copies for the Assembly, with the most astounding statements. Dr. Monro and Paton determined to be there, and I got hold of Dr. Smith, of Cathcart, a member of the committee who hadn't attended a meeting for years, and coached him up. Meeting them later on at dinner I found that they had been for two hours and a half at the colonial committee, but Muir would concede little, so we had to arrange our plan of action. At 9 o'clock a clever young member of the Assembly—King, whose name you will see in the *Daily News*—came in, and I, anticipating a contest, coached him for two hours on the subject. Next morning I went to a Bible Society breakfast and spoke there. On returning, I found that Muir had been calling for me, and had left his card and proposed report (amended). This was a sign of caving in that I hailed. Charles arrived at 11, and so did Paton and Dr. Monro, and we all went up together to the Assembly. There we arranged to have our deliverance moved as an amendment to Muir's, and got Dr. Monro to be ready to move, J. A. Campbell to second, and Smith, of North Leith, to support it; but, while in the ante-room, Dr. R. H. Stevenson, who was to move Muir's, came in and showed us his, and after an hour's talk we came to an agreement, he taking into his all that was, in our view, essential, and adding to the colonial committee eight names suggested

PRINCIPAL GRANT

by me. I was the more willing to agree to this, because of my anger at the Toronto presbytery *in re* Macdonnell, as I saw it reported in the *Globes* which I had just received. If the church is determined to follow the Toronto presbytery in its rigid, external, narrow way of forcing the Confession of Faith down the throats of its ministers, I don't know what my action may be ; and, therefore, I was unwilling to force a division in the General Assembly by strong statements, and perhaps a few months after have to eat some of my own words. At 8 I was called on to speak, and considering that I was exhausted when I began, I did well. I spoke for forty-five minutes, and carried them with me from first to last. We could have got anything we chose to ask from the Assembly. The *News* will give you an idea of it."

Revisiting his old university, he found it in new quarters. "The old head janitor and wife, who have a boy, now a student, called after me, were greatly delighted to see me. They don't like the grand new college half as well as the old, though they have now magnificent rooms instead of the old kennel. MacPherson (the janitor) declared to me that the students now were too respectable. He never saw a snowball made in the new quadrangle and the rectorial election meetings were more like 'prayer-meetings' than anything else. The old man heaved many sighs as he thought of the departed joys of which he had been a delighted spectator."

UNION

On his return from the Assembly in Toronto, an unfortunate quarrel arose with his old and valued friend McCunn, minister of River John. In 1874 Grant had again brought up in the synod the question of a native ministry and had this time been successful, the plan being adopted of coöperating with the sister church, and of appointing one of the staff in their Halifax institution. For this position the Rev. Allan Pollok was unanimously chosen, the colonial committee agreeing to pay his salary for the first six years. In 1876 the continuance of this grant was called in question. McCunn, torn between love for his old associates who had entered the union, and a desire to do the best for himself and for those who had sent him, secretly in favour of the United Church, but kept silent by the fierce hostility of his people, found it difficult to steer a straight course, and both in Edinburgh and on his return was compelled to temporize. Grant was irritated at the time by the Macdonnell trial and by various other matters, and in their correspondence hit harder than was either fair or just.

“You have I think carried out your maxim of ‘perish policy’ in a sense different from what Dr. Norman meant. The policy of union—which in the winter of the revival you declared Christian and necessary—has perished; the policy of going into the union as a distinct presbytery, which you agreed to in the spring following, has perished; the policy of general coöperation in our schemes urged on you

PRINCIPAL GRANT

by Mr. Muir, has perished ; the policy of aiding in the endowment of Dr. Pollok's chair, to which you pledged yourself last May in Edinburgh, has perished Do you wonder if I am puzzled ? I am slow to suspect any man, but can I help suspecting your good faith ?”

The life-long friendship was soon restored, McCunn showing a fine forbearance, and when, in 1894, St. George's, River John, almost unanimously entered the union, Grant made a special journey to the spot to preach for his old friend and for his own first congregation.

CHAPTER X

FINAL YEARS IN HALIFAX

DURING the early part of 1875 Grant was much interested in a spontaneous outburst of religious fervour, not marked by the presence of any professional revivalist, which took place throughout Pictou county, especially in the districts of West River and River John. With its earlier stages Grant was intimately connected. Writing from Pictou to his wife, he says: "On Saturday evening (at Hopewell), I took the evening meeting from 7 till 10 o'clock. On Sunday we were seven hours in the church. I did almost all the talking, preaching two long sermons, and addressing the communicants, and not feeling a bit tired. It is easy to feed hungry people. Monday morning I preached till 1 o'clock, and then, according to Mr. McKinnon's previous arrangement, it was announced that the daily meetings at Hopewell would be discontinued, in order that district meetings might be held. This left me at liberty, and I determined to visit Pictou, especially as I was certain that there was need there. I took the afternoon train, and on the way learned that there was to be a union prayer-meeting in the Kirk in the evening in New Glasgow, and I resolved to stay over for one night there. The Coulls are

PRINCIPAL GRANT

rejoiced to see me, and gave me most stirring accounts of the work that was going on in the country round about. There are about forty young men in New Glasgow who go out, three, five, eight, ten, and twelve miles to settlements, gather the people, hold prayer-meetings, and address them with singular directness and power; and their zeal and faith are being abundantly blessed. Monday night the New Glasgow Kirk was full. It was a prayer-meeting for an hour; then followed interviews with enquirers in the session room, and an adjourned meeting in the church of about seventy young men, who spoke, prayed, sang, and counselled one another in grand, spirit-stirring style, and all without the slightest appearance of undue excitement. I am so overjoyed at the manifest goodness of God to the people that I find no difficulty or fatigue in preaching. My own soul is being fed, and I trust that I may be a more faithful minister of Christ hereafter."

In the latter part of this year he became involved in a singular controversy. His friend Miss Machar and Mr. LeSueur of Ottawa were conducting in the *Canadian Monthly* a discussion on the efficacy of prayer. Into the controversy suddenly plunged Laon, an anonymous author, with a bludgeoning attack on Christianity, which he declared opposed to the whole tenor of modern thought, and, indeed, not honestly tenable by any man of culture. Grant came to the rescue of his friend and of his faith, and began a hot argument with Laon, who rather

FINAL YEARS IN HALIFAX

curiously turned out to be Mr. LeSueur himself. Some of Grant's private letters give his attitude more completely than his rather hurried articles in the *Monthly*. On the whole he shows less sympathy with the sceptical point of view than he came to feel in later years, though his desire for construction always rendered him a little impatient with the self-complacent individual who is satisfied to sit on the outskirts of the battle and make comments, however brilliant. Writing to Miss Machar, he says:—

“I am glad that you have met Mr. LeSueur. He is one of a more numerous type than I once thought. And I have very great sympathy for them. I know no cure for them but the spirit of God blessing to their souls good honest Christian work engaged in by them. I can quite understand how such a man should once have appropriated Christianity with the whole strength of his being, and yet now consider that all that was a delusion. I have felt the temptation, and although I did not know the tempter then, I know him now. His name is spiritual pride—the subtlest form of Satan. In him now it might be called intellectual pride, that form of self which seems to many pardonably sinful—so refined and beautiful is it. His letters interest me, but the same tone of self-sufficiency and personal infallibility that runs through his articles is in his letters as the fly in the ointment. He assumes that if a new revelation, through a

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Divine Teacher, were to be given to the world, that cultured sceptics would be more likely to receive it than earnest (he would use another adjective—probably bigoted, unthinking, traditional, or perhaps only orthodox) Christians. Not so was it when Christianity appeared. The Sadducees gave no great names to the new religion. Nothing ever comes from Sadduceeism. The Pharisees, even, were more tolerant than the Sadducees. Gamaliel was a Pharisee. Besides, the Pharisees gave not only Nicodemus and others like him in the time of the Lord, but the very cream of their order—Saul. Besides, we read that ‘a great company of the priests were obedient to the Faith.’ And see also Acts 21 : 20. And the first Gentile believers were found in the ranks of those ‘devout’ men and women who had already believed in the living God. I quite agree with you that there are types of orthodoxy as unlovely as scepticism ; but there is generally one great difference which is all-important in a world like this, that even the worst form of orthodoxy is more fruitful than scepticism.”

For Grant 1876 was an eventful year. Early in March the Rev. Father Chiniquy began a series of lectures in the various Presbyterian Churches of Halifax, in which, as was his wont, he attacked with great asperity many of the rites and practices of the church of which he had formerly been a member. Among the Roman Catholics of the city great indignation was aroused, which culminated in a riot,

FINAL YEARS IN HALIFAX

in which the windows of Fort Massey Church were broken, and the lecturer's life endangered by a mob. The mayor, though Protestant, was a weakling, and when appealed to for protection gave forth a very uncertain sound. For the spirit represented by the militant ex-priest, Grant was absolutely devoid of sympathy; but he had no intention of seeing a brave man deprived of his right to freedom of speech, and he promptly offered to Chiniquy the use of St. Matthew's for his next lecture. He then wrote to the mayor informing him he had done so, and added: "The windows of St. Matthew's are small and inexpensive; those of St. Mary's,¹ while quite as easily broken, are very beautiful and could not be so easily replaced." The hint was taken and Chiniquy's next lecture was delivered without opposition.

This disgraceful riot took place in the absence of the archbishop, who on hearing of it, hastened back, and not only offered to pay all the expenses of repairing Fort Massey, but publicly and severely reproved his flock for their unchristian folly.

Later in the year this great and good man was called to his last home. Grant sat constantly at his bedside till death grew very near, and then leaving his friend to the care of those of his own faith, went quietly downstairs and there waited for the end. Though it was long after midnight when the archbishop passed away, four hours later the following

¹ The neighbouring Roman Catholic cathedral.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

letter, addressed by Grant to the editor of the *Morning Herald*, appeared in that paper:—

July 28th, 1876.—"A great man among us has fallen. We are, as a rule, blind to merit very near ourselves, and, therefore, the true worth of Archbishop Conolly will probably be better appreciated by us years after this. But his virtues and true greatness all classes and denominations in Halifax gratefully acknowledged while he lived, and now that he is dead I am sure all are anxious to pay every respect to his memory. How this can best be done it is for those in authority to consider. Whether a public funeral should be tendered, or this matter be left in the hands of his own church and to the spontaneous expression of the citizens, I shall not undertake to say, but of course an opportunity will be afforded us to manifest our sense of the loss which, as a community, we have sustained.

"It is needless to add that I am not thinking now of Dr. Conolly as a churchman, an archbishop, nor even as a much esteemed friend. I write concerning him as our most prominent public man, and as a public benefactor. Theobald and Stephen Langton were great, not chiefly as Archbishops of Canterbury, but as patriots and statesmen. No one thinks of Richelieu and Mazarin as cardinals, but as—each in his time—the brain of France. And many to-day think of the late Dr. Conolly, not as the self-denying priest, or the archbishop abundant in labours, but as the man who has long deserved

FINAL YEARS IN HALIFAX

well of this city and this Dominion of ours. He was a wise man—rich in saving common sense. He was a man of peace—ever seeking to build bridges rather than dig ditches between men of different creeds. He was a great man with an eye that discerned any spark of greatness in others, with a noble scorn of all that is base and with resolute strivings after great things. He was a good man, beloved by the poor, by all whom he ever employed, and by all who really knew him.”

Somewhat later in this year Grant attended a meeting in New York of the Evangelical Alliance and saw something both of the religious fervour and of the moral degradation of that great city. “There being no meeting in the evening, six of us went with a detective to see the worst parts of New York. Some things were so revolting that I am sorry I went. Utter abominableness! Certainly, if we are hearing about the remedy, we also saw something of the disease.”

As a lecturer Grant had long been prominent. In February of 1876 he began in Temperance Hall a series on “Questions of the Day.” The first dealt with the Eastern problem, and with the political situation in Germany. From Carlyle he had imbibed a deep love for the Teuton, and was perhaps a little inclined to disparage France. In the great struggle of 1870 his sympathies had been entirely Prussian. Writing to his brother in India on September 9th, 1870, he had said:—“I have been

PRINCIPAL GRANT

thinking and reading of nothing for the last three or four weeks but this war of giants in Europe. As you may suppose, all my sympathies are with Germany; and predictions that I made freely at the outset are all being verified, though I am not much of a prophet—that it would make Germany a united power, giving to central Europe hereafter an equilibrium, the want of which in the past enabled France to disturb the peace of the continent when she liked, *i.e.* when the war whim seized on or suited her; and that it would destroy the Napoleonic dynasty. Other results there will be of course, for the whipping is very complete—a republic in France for a while, for nine Frenchmen out of ten believe they are republicans; the Pope under British protection; the possible surrender to Germany of Alsace and part of Lorraine—Oh, Heavens, where are we to stop!—for united Germany then, if it liked, could swallow up Holland and Denmark, and so Britain would be merely a wealthy island anchored off the coast of Germany. But Germans are not Frenchmen. They want their own, but not their neighbour's. And that is my confidence that all will go well. Napoleon is, I think, to end his days in the Strand, *i.e.* if he survives. What a drama has been enacted! What lofty tumbling! Prussia has vindicated Carlyle's prophecy of her. Henceforth she will be the bulwark of Europe against the Cossack and the Celt, first on land, as Britain is at sea. The Teutonic race are the mas-

FINAL YEARS IN HALIFAX

ters of the globe, and Protestantism is the dominant form of religious thought."

At the conclusion of the war, widespread sympathy was aroused for the widows and orphans of both armies, and many schemes were formed to raise money for their support. In Halifax a debate was held, the proceeds of which went to this object. Dr. Clay and the Hon. James Macdonald, subsequently chief justice of Nova Scotia, supported the argument that the French nation was not responsible for the outbreak of the war, while Grant and the late Hon. William Garvie upheld the cause of Prussia, the late Sir William Young acting as chairman and judge. At the last moment illness prevented Garvie from attending, and the whole burden of the negative fell on Grant. He won a complete victory, rousing the enthusiasm of all by his eloquence, his historical knowledge, and his skill in debate. In giving his decision the chairman said:—"We must all come to the conclusion that Mr. Grant has had the best of it; but we must also admit that even were his the weaker side, his ability to make the worse appear the better reason would have made it seem the stronger."

Grant's historical knowledge was not that of a specialist, but it was wide and clear. He possessed to a high degree the faculty of reading a map, of visualizing the geography of a country, and of perceiving what consequences it must have entailed on the character and history of the people. Before

PRINCIPAL GRANT

visiting any country, or making up his mind upon any question of foreign policy, he was always careful to study thoroughly the map, and to read at least three or four standard works upon the subject. Thus to the Eastern question he brought a vivid knowledge of the political and physical features of the countries involved, and an accurate acquaintance with the works of Gibbon and Finlay, as well as with all the numerous articles by Gladstone, McColl, and Miss Irby in the great monthly and quarterly reviews. In this he was aided by a retentive memory, and by his power of reading and assimilating with marvellous rapidity. On questions of church history, such as the Reformation, and on everything dealing with the past of Canada, his knowledge was, of course, much more intimate and detailed.

A later lecture of 1876 discussed free trade and the legislative union of the Maritime Provinces. Both he advocated strongly. "At a time when most men were deceived by the plausible arguments that can always be urged in favour of protection, Howe saw clearly what a cheat the whole thing is, untenable in theory, vicious in practice; the fruitful parent of rings, lobbying and bribery about legislatures, the robbery of the community at large for special classes, and the pauperizing of mechanics and manufacturers; for how else shall you define paupers than as a class that have to be sustained by a tax on the whole community." He would allow only those limitations on free trade that all sensible

FINAL YEARS IN HALIFAX

free traders allow ; first, the artificial encouragement of what the safety of a country imperatively demanded; secondly, that as a revenue must be raised, all the industries of the country must bear their fair share of the burden.

“A maritime union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, even if Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland did not come in, would greatly reduce the cost of local government, increase our provincial credit and our influence in the councils of the nation.”

But from 1874 to 1877 his chief public appearances were in the rôle of educational reformer. The Act of 1864, while satisfactory throughout the province, had left the schools in Halifax unorganized, and required to be supplemented. This was done in 1874. The solution adopted was not altogether to his liking, but has stood the test of time with remarkable success. Separate schools were claimed by the Roman Catholics, and were favoured by Grant, who claimed that through a subterfuge they were really in existence already, and under far less careful supervision than in Ontario. “The grant of properly regulated separate schools would do much to sweeten our political life, and would take away the opposition now silently entertained by Roman Catholics to union with New Brunswick.” In this attempt he was unsuccessful, though under the present system certain of the city schools are, subject to the general regulations, controlled by the

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Roman Catholic section of the board. His advocacy of separate schools was contrasted by his opponents, not without effect, with his attitude on the university question. His mind was not made up without long hesitation. Writing to his brother he says:—

“The question of questions with the Romanists is ‘separate schools,’ but they put forward their claims so moderately and quietly, except where they can control the election, that neither party cares to come out openly against them. I see that Rome is becoming more and more of a sect, but certainly the most formidable of sects, because of her numbers, her authority, and the connection she insists on between religion and politics. The tendency of the modern spirit is to carry the principle of the division of labour into the intellectual and spiritual regions, letting the politician have his department, and the scientific man his, and the religious man his; but the ultramontanist sees that man is a unity and that his soul should control the whole man. It is the true idea, but unluckily the ultramontanist can’t be depended on to feed the soul with truth. What then is to be done? I am often at a loss, swaying to-day to this side, and next day to that, for I cannot sympathize with either side, and there is no other great party in the field. Well, I must just work on as best I can, and wait with patience. But there are great social questions involved, that press for solution.”

At the same time the university problem became

FINAL YEARS IN HALIFAX

acute, and the government was compelled to decide between three rival policies:—

To continue the existing grants to denominational institutions.

To form a non-sectarian teaching university.

To found a non-sectarian examining body.

The first policy was advocated by Acadia College and its Baptist constituency. The second, which practically meant submerging all others in Dalhousie, was strongly advocated by Grant. The taunt that Dalhousie was really Presbyterian, he refuted with vigour and success; at the same time the feeling that it was unfair for one church to contribute so largely to the support of a provincial university, and to win in return nothing but ingratitude and misrepresentation, made it likely that if the state determined to adopt the Baptist policy, the Presbyterians would withdraw their funds from Dalhousie, found a university of their own, and claim state aid in proportion to their numbers. Speaking in March, 1876, Grant says:—

“The chief argument for denominational colleges is that they exist, and that they have received grants in the past, and that they have the confidence of their denominations. The case of Acadia is put generally in the forefront, not only because it has more students than Sackville or King’s, but because of the circumstances connected with its origin. When Dalhousie College was put in operation in 1839, Mr. Crawley applied for a professor-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

ship. A majority of a rump board of governors—said majority consisting of a worthy but pig-headed governor and the treasurer of the province—considered that as King's was the college of the Episcopal Established Church of England, Dalhousie should be the college of the Presbyterian Established Church of Scotland, and so Mr. Crawley was not appointed. The Baptists were indignant, and started Queen's College, now called Acadia. Though the most ample apologies were made in the House next year, and a new board of governors appointed, the mischief was done, and though apologies have been periodically renewed ever since, in the press, on the platform, and in the House, all has been of no avail. Denominational colleges have been fastened on us for a generation, and are to be continued forever. Truly events are far-reaching. Those two worthy gentlemen had little idea of the importance of their act. Might I take the liberty of suggesting to Nova Scotians that they have by this time punished themselves enough for the stupidity of Sir Colin Campbell and Mr. Wallace. Honest men, they are both dead, and, let us hope, in peace. Let us, too, have peace.

“The prosperity of a country depends to an almost extraordinary extent on whether it has a few men whose native vigour has been cultivated to the highest possible degree. One Joe Howe was worth to us ten thousand men. And he would have been worth to us ten times as much had he received the

FINAL YEARS IN HALIFAX

advantages of a thorough collegiate training. Well he knew that. Often and often he lamented that it had never been within his reach. And always he lifted up his voice on behalf of an institution where young Nova Scotians without distinction of class or creed could contend in that literary contest where defeat is no dishonour and where victory ensures modesty.

"Halifax ought to be the educational centre of the Maritime Provinces. But what is its state? We have not a high school yet. An enlightened Scottish nobleman founded a college for us with imperial funds. It lay long like a wreck on an unkindly shore. No hand was stretched forth to refit it and send it forth with sails set and streamers flying. At last a few young men in the country, who had been educated abroad, put their shoulders to the work. They succeeded. But how much sympathy, how much practical assistance have they received? Their honesty has been questioned, their position misrepresented, and their success denied. And in this very year (1876) a paper published in Halifax has calmly proposed that it be broken up, the revenues confiscated and divided among half a dozen denominations, and Halifax left without a college."

The government finally decided to increase the grants to denominational colleges and to Dalhousie for the five years from 1876 to 1881, and then to withdraw them entirely.¹ At the same time they

¹ Dalhousie weathered the loss of the provincial grants; in 1879

PRINCIPAL GRANT

founded the University of Halifax, a degree-conferring institution, with a staff composed of members of the faculties of existing teaching bodies. After a perturbed existence of some years this paper university sank into a state of coma, from which it has not yet emerged. On its foundation Grant accepted a position on the senate, but early in the next year resigned in disgust.

In 1877 Grant turned to the more practical task of securing endowments for Pine Hill Theological College. The old Free Church College on Gerrish Street, adopted by the United Church, was, both in building and equipment, inadequate for the work of giving a theological training to the Presbyterian youth of the Maritime Provinces. New buildings and additional professors were required. A canvass, in which Grant took the lead, was organized and carried to a successful conclusion, over eighty thousand dollars being raised, with part of which the new buildings on the Northwest Arm were purchased. From end to end Grant toured the three provinces so gaily that many came to think he enjoyed the work of a collector. In reality it cost him many a bitter pang, even in so good a cause. To his wife he writes: "Duties must be done, and above all, those which spring from one's public

George Munro, of New York, an expatriated Nova Scotian, began his celebrated series of benefactions; his noble example was followed by others, and the position of Dalhousie is now secure as *de facto* if not *de jure*, the provincial university.

FINAL YEARS IN HALIFAX

position. This work I am now on is hateful to me as far as begging is concerned; but there are no other ways of establishing the Hall, just as, if I had not put my shoulder to the wheel fourteen years ago, Dalhousie College would not have been resuscitated. But one thing is certain, I'll never start another money scheme."

The time had now come for him to play his part upon a larger stage. In October, 1877, he was offered the vacant principalship of Queen's University. Intimation of his impending resignation had been given him by Principal Snodgrass, and of the likelihood of his being summoned as successor. To leave Halifax was a wrench to himself and still more to his wife. The congregation was in despair, and tried hard to induce him to remain. But more and more his conviction deepened that it was his duty to go, a conviction strengthened by the unanimous counsels of his friends and of his brother. He had been fourteen years in the one charge, and manifold as were his interests he could not but feel that there was some danger of his falling into the pastoral groove. It was better for himself that he should pass into a different atmosphere and have the opportunity of influencing a wider constituency. In the larger sense his work in Halifax and in Nova Scotia was done, and such a man was far more deeply needed in Upper Canada. When the official invitation came he asked but a single question; Was he sure of the cordial support of his colleagues? It

PRINCIPAL GRANT

was answered that he was. Two months more were spent in Halifax; then, early in December, regretfully but resolutely, he turned his back upon his native province.

CHAPTER XI

QUEEN'S BEFORE 1878

THE University of Queen's College in 1877 preferred to describe herself as one of the "outlying colleges," and was generally regarded as a "denominational institution." Imperfectly known in central and western Ontario, for she lay remote from the city in which the functions of the province were rapidly being centralized, she was out of touch with the remarkably coherent educational system which at this period was in process of construction. Her aloofness from the provincial system was accentuated by the memories of past quarrels in which she had played a losing part, and by the wide unpopularity of denominationalism in education. Yet in 1877 she was not denominational in the sense of commanding the support of an ecclesiastical body. She had been a foremost care of the synod of the Old Kirk, but at the union the Presbyterian Church in Canada decided to assume nothing beyond a partial responsibility for her theological faculty. Since 1875 her constituency had been limited to individual Presbyterians and to the people of Kingston. Disadvantageous as was her material position, she possessed a vigorous and remarkably individual life, and commanded a pas-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

sionate loyalty which gave her a remarkable vitality.

Queen's owed her origin to the fight against sectarianism in education, and she had an honourable record of freedom from prejudice and intolerance. The great tide of Scottish immigration into Upper Canada in the thirties was coincident with the virulent struggle over the university question.¹ The Scottish Church followed the migration of her children with her usual sober, disciplined energy. She sent out ministers in fair numbers, and the men she sent were of fine scholarship. From the very first the immigrants felt acutely the lack of means of higher education which was the result of the deadlock which had followed the Anglican attempt to seize upon the university endowment. In particular the church desired a native ministry. For a few years the Upper Canada synod wasted time

¹ In 1797 a royal enactment had directed the establishment of grammar schools and more advanced seminaries. The local authorities implemented this by setting aside a quantity of wild lands for this purpose. In 1827 two hundred and twenty-five thousand acres were appropriated as a university endowment. In the same year King's College was chartered, and to this university college was handed over the whole endowment; at the same time it was made an exclusively Anglican institution. The protests were bitter, the numerous and energetic Methodist body leading. In 1836 the Methodists founded the Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg, and this, in 1841, became Victoria University. Queen's began work in March, 1842. Victoria is the oldest, Queen's the second oldest college in Ontario. King's College, though chartered in 1827, was not opened until 1843. King's was abolished in 1849, Toronto University being set up in its stead as a secular teaching body. In 1853 University College appeared as the teaching body of Toronto University.

QUEEN'S BEFORE 1878

in efforts to force an equitable administration of the public endowment. Then the Presbyterians realized that for the time at least the endowment was locked up, and in 1889 they definitely decided to assume the burden of establishing a college with their own resources. Forty thousand settlers, scattered over a region as large as Scotland, almost all recent immigrants, almost all in the early pioneer stage of progress where ready money is scanty, determined to provide the province with a college.

The Scottish universities furnished the model. The founders of Queen's were familiar with colleges which consulted the interests of churches, received aid of the government, evoked the liberality of municipalities and profited by the gifts of individuals, all with no loss of freedom or of harmony. The circumstances of Upper Canada caused the founders to lay special stress on religious liberty, and as early as possible in the royal charter of Queen's occurs an explicit prohibition of religious tests or qualifications for students or graduates. In conferring degrees in divinity the new university was to be guided in the matter of declarations and subscriptions by the example of the University of Edinburgh. Queen's from the beginning was absolutely tolerant. In the early fifties the synod noted that Episcopalians, Methodists, and "even Roman Catholics" had availed themselves of her advantages. Intending to render public service, the founders of Queen's could see no reason why they should not receive public

PRINCIPAL GRANT

aid; and the earlier politics of the college had much to do with the question of whether the endowment provided by royal enactment should be reserved for one institution, or should be used to aid the three or four colleges then at work in the province.

The beginnings were prosperous. A fair endowment—about forty thousand dollars—was raised. The colonial committee of the Church of Scotland gave an annual grant. A scholar of great polish and brilliance, the Rev. Dr. Liddell, was sent out as principal. The professor of classics, Campbell, was afterwards principal of Aberdeen University, and the third professor was Dr. Williamson, for half a century a servant of Queen's. The attendance was encouraging, and so promising was the outlook that plans were prepared for large buildings on the outskirts of the city. Then, in 1844, the disruption took place, the first of the three great disasters which have overtaken Queen's. She remained with the Old Kirk, and at a stroke that church lost more than two-thirds of its membership. The students who sided with the Free Church party at once withdrew; Queen's began her fourth session with only thirteen—some accounts say eleven—students in attendance.

The tenacity of the board of trustees saved the situation. The staff went to pieces. Professor Campbell left to take a Scottish pulpit. Dr. Liddell lost heart and advocated a surrender to King's College and the reduction of the university to the footing

QUEEN'S BEFORE 1878

of a theological college. The trustees rejected the counsels of despair, and Dr. Liddell resigned. The staff was recruited from the clergy of the province, four ministers engaged in parochial work adding collegiate instruction to their other labours. Gradually the college pulled through, a permanent staff was gathered, the attendance crept up, and by 1850 there were forty-one matriculated students, rather more than before the disruption. The first storm had been weathered.

The fifties were a period of precarious prosperity. The income was small, varying from eight thousand to eleven thousand dollars, and the staff numbered only four or five. By intense zeal and activity the professors achieved astonishing results. Not only did they impart a remarkably sound education, but it was their recognized duty to tour the countryside in vacation times drumming up recruits. A connection was established with the Old Kirk in the Maritime Provinces. The colonial committee was induced to send out for education at Queen's young Scotchmen who intended to enter the Canadian ministry. A successful medical faculty was added. The alertness of the New World seems grafted upon the doggedness of Scotland as we regard the combination of resourcefulness and determination which marked these early days.

Ill-fortune marked the sixties. They opened with the second great disaster, the depression which was caused by the loss of harmony in the staff. The

PRINCIPAL GRANT

earlier gains had been wrung from unpromising circumstances by the zeal of the professors. At the moment when the university became involved in a public controversy of great bitterness, disunion appeared within. A personal quarrel between Professors George and Weir so rent the college that Professor George resigned, Professor Weir was dismissed, and Professor Lawson withdrew to Dalhousie. Soon after, Principal Leitch, who had come out from Scotland in 1860, died suddenly, and Professors Williamson and Mowat alone were left of the band of workers of the fifties. As the harmony disappeared the attendance declined.

This misfortune was complicated by the results of the university conflict of 1860 and 1861. King's College was opened in 1843 in Toronto. After a few troubled years as an Anglican institution it passed, by a series of changes, into University College. The constitution of the provincial university was long in dispute. An ideal which was generally held was that there should be only one university in the province. A plan which Queen's supported was for the several institutions in Upper Canada to be teaching colleges in this university, having equal powers and sharing as their circumstances dictated in the public funds. The opposite view was that the provincial university should have only one arts college, and that this college should absorb the whole of the revenue from the endowment. The clash of ideals was marked by a painful bitterness.

QUEEN'S BEFORE 1878

The Act of 1858 was drafted with an ingenious wrongheadedness which so encouraged both these theories as to make conflict certain. It placed University College in such peculiarly close relations to Toronto University as to give it control of the senate, which was the governing body of that institution. Simultaneously it professed to incorporate the other colleges—which had independent university powers of their own—in Toronto University. By a triumph of fatuity, it gave the outlying colleges a claim on the revenue from the endowment, but left it to their bitter rival, University College, to decide the amount of the sum which they should receive. University College was to be maintained and the surplus from the revenue was to be given to the others. As University College was in financial control of the university, the clause was a deliberate inducement to waste money.

In 1860 the outlying colleges demanded the sum which by the terms of the Act of 1858 they should receive from Toronto University. A desperate fight ensued, a trial of strength between the outlying or denominational colleges and the “secular college” as they unwisely called their opponent. The struggle ended in complete defeat for the church institutions. University College remained in possession of the endowments. More than that, it remained in possession of public sympathy. A province which had just rid itself of the plague of the clergy reserves, and which was commencing the organization of an

PRINCIPAL GRANT

elaborate system of secular schools, offered a bad field for denunciations of the "godless college." The unpopularity of the denominational colleges probably dates from this conflict.

Hitherto University College had not surpassed Queen's or Victoria in point of attendance. Now, however, she forged ahead and secured that superiority in numbers, which long was one feature of university conditions in the province. To some extent this may have been due to the new popularity of University College. To some extent it was due to the advantage which the state college derived from her wealth. To the great indignation of the other institutions, she spent several thousand dollars a year in scholarships. In 1860 there were thirty of these, each of one hundred and twenty dollars a year. They constituted a powerful inducement to attendance and Dr. McCaul¹ described them as his "sheet anchor." This policy of Toronto University explains the constant appeals which the other universities were obliged to make for subscriptions to provide scholarships, prizes and bursaries. In the main, however, the sudden increase in the attendance at University College must be ascribed to a general change in educational conditions, a change to which Toronto University adapted herself more readily than did her rivals.

One of the early difficulties had been the lack of secondary schools. Each college had been compelled

¹ The president of Toronto University.

QUEEN'S BEFORE 1878

to establish a preparatory school, and for years these few institutions were the principal feeders of the universities. At this period, when University College was triumphant, and the other colleges depressed and embarrassed, occurred the rise of the grammar school. The relative importance of the old preparatory institutions soon disappeared. Owing to many causes Toronto University influence was predominant in the new schools. A large proportion of the masters were University College graduates. At this period each university had its own matriculation standard. The result of this was that the high schools—whose masters were largely Toronto men—whose courses were prescribed by an education department which worked in more or less harmony with Toronto and without consulting the other universities—and whose staffs were plagued by a chaotic multiplicity of examinations—nearly everywhere developed a strong reluctance to teach any but the Toronto matriculation.

About 1865 Queen's pulled herself together under Principal Snodgrass, a burly Lowlander, whose practical, half-humorous sagacity all knew, and who hid under a heavy exterior a force and determination which were to tide the university over her third great crisis. A new staff was built up. Professor MacKerras succeeded Weir, Professor Dupuis, in 1864, commenced his long term of service, Professor Watson joined in 1872, and Professor Robert

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Bell¹ took the natural science work. In 1865 the course was lengthened to four years. A misfortune at this period was the discontinuance of the faculty of medicine, owing to internal difficulties. In its stead appeared the Royal College, affiliation replacing the older and closer relationship.

The reviving energies of Queen's were all but paralyzed by the disaster which came in 1868, the halving of the income. The failure of the Commercial Bank reduced the university's investments by two-thirds. It was followed by the withdrawal of the government grant. The income fell from thirteen thousand six hundred dollars, to seven thousand seven hundred dollars.

The pre-confederation government of Canada had compromised with the outlying colleges in the matter of the university endowment by voting them certain yearly sums. The total vote was twenty-one thousand four hundred dollars, of which Queen's and Victoria received five thousand dollars each, Trinity four thousand dollars, and four Roman Catholic institutions—Regiopolis, St. Michael's, Bytown, and L'Assomption—seven thousand four hundred dollars. Sandfield Macdonald governed Ontario in a spirit of determined economy. The discontinuance of these grants seems to have been a popular measure of retrenchment, the outlying colleges now feeling to the full how unfortunate for them had been the result of the controversy of 1860-1. It

¹ Now Director of the Geological Survey.

QUEEN'S BEFORE 1878

came to be regarded as an axiom in Ontario politics that public support could not be given to "denominational" institutions.

This seemed sheer ruin for the outlying colleges, and the impression prevailed over the province that they must close their doors and leave the field to University College. At Victoria nearly the whole of the senior year forthwith deserted and went to the prosperous rival. The Queen's senior year showed firmness, yet one or two desertions took place. Few new students, however, cared to join what seemed a moribund institution. In 1867-8 the arts students numbered only twenty-eight. In 1868-9 and 1870-1 the numbers touched low water mark, twenty-five.

Principal Snodgrass saved Queen's. Far as the pawky Scot was from brilliance, he possessed a will of iron and a firm courage. He set his teeth and determined that Queen's must not die. First he steadied his colleagues. For a moment he stood alone. "The only thing we can do for our *Alma Mater*," MacKerras wrote, "is to give her a decent burial." Then Snodgrass called upon the church. In January, 1869, a meeting of the synod, *pro re nata*, was held in Kingston. Stirred by Snodgrass's appeal and MacKerras's fiery eloquence, the synod determined to replace the lost revenue by raising an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars. Snodgrass and MacKerras undertook the work of collection. They succeeded. They visited eighty-six pastoral charges, delivering public addresses and prosecuting

PRINCIPAL GRANT

a house to house canvass in each. The sum they raised came from five thousand two hundred individual givers. It saved Queen's, but killed MacKerras, whose health was irretrievably shattered by his exertions. The lost government grant was replaced by interest from invested capital.

The struggle was still very hard. Despite rigid economy and skilful management, the expenses increased until Dr. Snodgrass's last budget showed an expenditure of sixteen thousand eight hundred dollars, while the revenue could not be brought over sixteen thousand two hundred and seventy-five dollars. Nearly eight thousand dollars of this was from interest on capital, and nearly seven thousand five hundred dollars came from Presbyterian sources—the grant from the colonial committee of the Scottish Church, a sum from the temporalities fund, (a relic of the old clergy reserves) and contributions from churches. Year by year discouraging deficits ate into the capital.

In 1875 Presbyterian union profoundly modified the position of Queen's. The Voluntary section of the Canada Presbyterian Church, which far outnumbered the Old Kirk, opposed the maintenance of arts colleges by churches. The footing of Queen's was one of the most delicate points in the negotiations. Finally an arrangement was effected, which, while leaving Queen's nominally Presbyterian, virtually transformed her into a private institution. Hitherto the governing body, the board of trustees,

QUEEN'S BEFORE 1878

had been elected by the synod, from a list of persons nominated by the individual congregations. After the union the board became a self-perpetuating body. Theoretically the corporation of the university remained the communicants of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Practically the church as a body had no control over the university. The stipulation that trustees must be members of the Presbyterian Church remained in force for fifteen years; in 1889 it was modified. The trustees continued to furnish the General Assembly with an annual report. The church undertook to contribute a proportion of the expenditure on the theological faculty.¹

More or less consciously, Queen's at this juncture turned to her graduates as her true constituency. The legislation which was obtained in 1874 constituted a new body, the university council. Elected by the graduates, its functions were mainly advisory, but it afforded a link between the trustees and the general sentiment of the friends of the university. It has proved a useful body, and in 1889 it was empowered to elect five members of the board of trustees. Another change made in 1874 was the institution of the dignified office of chancellor. This post was filled by election by the alumni. The constitution of 1874 was a strikingly far-sighted and

¹ The church has contributed from two thousand to four thousand dollars a year for this purpose. In 1901 it helped to endow a fourth chair in that faculty.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

judicious work, and reveals Principal Snodgrass as a man of high constructive powers.

Many circumstances at this time mortified the friends of Queen's. The General Assembly was guarded and even cold in its attitude to the university. It refused to aid her in a project to get a third theological professor. Difficulties arose as to the proportions in which the church's expenditure for theological education should be divided among the four colleges, Queen's and Knox in Ontario, Montreal and Morrin in Quebec. Several movements against Queen's started in the presbyteries. For some years a project to establish a Presbyterian university for the conferring of theological degrees—a direct attack on Queen's—figured in ecclesiastical politics. Queen's had been forced into her semi-independent position, and yet complaints were constant about the anomalous relation in which she stood to the church.

When, in 1877, Dr. Snodgrass was offered the living of Canobie, in Scotland, he gladly laid down the burden. A steady increase in the number of students had been the one encouraging feature in his work since the raising of the endowment. Conditions were changed in the province, and, thanks in part to an alteration in matriculation methods, the young people were flocking to the universities in greater numbers. The finances were a great anxiety. The painful effort of 1869-70 had barely made good the losses of 1868, and had not met the need for expan-

QUEEN'S BEFORE 1878

sion. The changed attitude of the church depressed the friends of Queen's. Some aspects of the Macdonnell case increased the impression that the Assembly looked coldly upon the university. Grant, in 1902, declared that the peculiar state of affairs so created had an influence in deciding him to cast in his lot with Queen's. "Vehement discussions over a so-called heresy case had deepened the old lines of division in the church," he said, "and had Queen's been obliged to close its doors from lack of sufficiently generous aid, the union, from which so much spiritual good was anticipated, would have been imperilled." Queen's, in short, was in a profoundly critical condition.

The great hope lay in the remarkable affection which from the earliest days she had been able to evoke. Passionate loyalty to the *Alma Mater* pervaded the whole atmosphere of the college. A certain individuality and faculty of developing individuality also characterized her. The undergraduate life was independent and vigorous.¹ It was in these intangible elements that hope lay when George Monro Grant became the sixth principal.

¹ An "*Alma Mater Society*" afforded a means of expression to the corporate life of the student body, and a less formal organization, the "*Concursus Iniquitatis et Virtutis*," had by degrees been brought to a singular point of efficiency as a students' court.

CHAPTER XII

THE INSTALLATION

THE new principal arrived in Kingston on December 1st, 1877, and was greeted with high enthusiasm. He was met at the station, two miles outside the town, by the university authorities, the civic dignitaries, and the students. When the formal welcomes were over, and the cheering had spent itself, he was driven into town, the students marching in parade, headed by a military band. The principal's stopping-place was Professor MacKerras's house, and from the doorstep he addressed a few words to the thronging undergraduates. His presence, his voice, his air of strength and confidence, produced a great effect.

The installation took place four days later, in the city hall. Principals Caven and MacVicar were present, and another visitor was Sir John Macdonald,¹ M.P. for Kingston, then the leader of the opposition. The opening prayer was offered by the Rev. D. M. Gordon, of Ottawa, Grant's junior and friend at school and college, and destined to be his successor as principal. Hope and confidence seem

¹ In 1839, Sir John Macdonald, then a rising young barrister, had taken a prominent part in the foundation of Queen's. Later on he had been active in organizing the medical faculty.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

to have been the keynotes of the occasion. The prevailing idea was expressed in the students' song, with its plain intimation of the work which was expected of him:—

“For cash to build new halls and found new chairs,
We here at Queen's have long remained in want,
At last propitious Fortune hears our pray'rs,
And from her treasures sends 'a liberal Grant.'”

Grant's address made the installation a matter of provincial importance. Queen's aloofness from the general life and interests of Ontario was unpleasantly evident in the scanty list of visitors at the ceremony. Few persons other than Presbyterian clergymen and Kingstonians took the trouble to be present. But Grant's great power of arresting and compelling public attention was shown by the wide currency given to his striking deliverance on university ideals, university work, and university policy. Long as the address was, it was published in full in the Toronto press. On the day of his installation, the principal began the work of bringing Queen's before the public, and into relation with the life of the people.

The address falls into two main divisions, an examination of the position of Queen's, and a declaration of the new principal's theory of the work and purposes of a university. Both were keen and courageous. The latter and more general portion was an elaboration of the principles which for seventeen years he had championed in Nova Scotia.

THE INSTALLATION

The portion relating to Queen's went to the root of the matter. The reasons for her existence were boldly discussed. Her footing in the country was glanced at, and her attitude towards the provincial system defined. Her needs, constitutional as well as financial, were expounded. A direct demand for support was made upon graduates and friends.

Queen's was still a purely Presbyterian institution, and Grant discussed the question of the form in which the university was to exist from the standpoint of a churchman. Emphatically, almost curtly, he laid down the principle that Queen's would continue as a university, having both arts and divinity faculties. Life, he said, was too short to be always discussing the same subject. He referred to the history of the past few years: "The question of consolidating our various institutions delayed the union of the churches for two or three years. It was found that Knox College, though then without buildings or endowments, refused to move east; that Montreal Presbyterian College, though without endowment, would not move west; and it could not be expected that old Queen's, with buildings and endowments, would abandon her limestone foundations in the ancient capital of Canada. The matter then 'took end' as far as legislation is concerned. But it only took beginning as far as action is concerned."

The churchman passing into the publicist, Grant next defined the claims which the university had

PRINCIPAL GRANT

upon Presbyterians, as well as upon her "special friends," as the ecclesiastical phrase of the day had it. "The church, in accepting Queen's, of course meant to preserve, cherish and honour her. Her special friends, in insisting upon the maintenance of her integrity, of course meant to develop and strengthen her in every department. They considered that Ontario was too vast a country for one college, however nobly endowed that college may be; that there was an undoubted advantage in a combination of the arts and divinity faculties when the constituency was extensive enough to support both; that Queen's had too illustrious a record to consent to extinction; that her vitality had been proved by surviving shocks that had killed other institutions; that the number of students who flocked to her halls showed that she supplied to the country a felt need; that she was required by the church now, and might be still more required in the future."

The passage which followed must have startled many of the new principal's hearers. It was an explicit abandonment of the claim of Queen's upon the university endowment, an acceptance of the result of the disastrous struggle of 1860-1, and, by waiving the claims which had been the point of contention, a distinct overture of friendship to Toronto University. "As far as provincial action was concerned," he said, "it was surely well, it seems to me, that Ontario should devote the

THE INSTALLATION

whole endowment accruing from the land set apart for university education, to one good college, rather than fritter it away on several institutions. If others are in existence from local, denominational, or other necessities, let the necessity be proved by the sacrifices their friends are willing to make for them, and the real extent of the necessity by the survival of the fittest. The existence of one amply endowed from provincial resources will always be a guarantee that provincial educational interests shall not be sacrificed to the clamours of an endless number of sects and localities, and a guarantee also of the efficiency of the various colleges, the provincial college included. Competition, when there is room for it, is a good thing, even in education. Dr. Chalmers thought the best possible condition of things for promoting the religious well-being of a country was an Established Church, surrounded by a vigorous dissent. I quite agree with him, when the country happens to possess a free historical national church; and I would submit whether a similar condition of things does not offer the best security for the educational welfare of Canada."¹

The relations of Queen's to the Presbyterian Church, to Ontario, and to Toronto University thus touched upon, Grant discussed the needs of the hour. Chiefly he dwelt upon the financial need. One internal change he suggested. From the very

¹ The principal carefully confined his acquiescence to the old royal grant; an important point, in view of subsequent circumstances.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

beginning he regretted the rupture which had caused the Royal College to replace the old medical faculty. Not for nearly fifteen years did he see a reversion to the old arrangement, but he hinted at it in this his first address. His significant plea for university culture as part of the curriculum for the physician, followed his introductory sentences. He was more explicit in his statement of the needs of the two existing faculties. The university needed a new convocation hall and more class-rooms. "In order that the degree of B.Sc. may be on an equal footing with, and occupy an entirely distinctive position from that of B.A., an additional professorship of physics is needed." Professor Dupuis should have a good laboratory. Bursaries and scholarships also were required. The need for a new professor in the faculty of divinity was pressing.

Finally, the principal demanded "pecuniary independence of the mother church." "In the most generous manner she has for many years given us five hundred and fifty pounds sterling per annum. We have no right to ask that that grant should be continued much longer. We have always been an independent church, but our recent auspicious union indicates that the Canadian church expects to do its own work with its own means, and that the aid of the mother churches should be sought only for our new provinces in the North-West, for newly-arrived emigrants, or to wind up the threads of the old work."

THE INSTALLATION

The principal invoked the name of Canada in his call to the men of Queen's. "We ask nothing for ourselves. We ask all for Canada. Canada has no past. We begin to count a past only after centuries of noble achievements. We do not boast much of her present. But we know that she has a future, and her colleges are essential to the glory of her future. Speaking for my brother professors, I may say that we will do all that in us lies. Like our fathers, we are willing to cultivate learning on a little oatmeal. But fervent zeal and unconquerable will must fail if supports do not come up in strength. You have brought me here. Was I rash in reading these words between the lines of my appointment: 'Depend upon us for sympathy and loyal aid'?"

The educational ideals which Grant set forth were those which in past years had created such a stir in Nova Scotia. The world had moved, and in 1877 in Ontario they aroused no uproar. So far as curriculum went, he leaned on the whole to the philosophical side. "Those studies," he said, "should be encouraged in the college which are gymnastic in their effect rather than necessary on their own account, which are valuable not so much for the facts imparted as for the ulterior progress they enable the student to make." Accordingly, he gave primacy to mental philosophy. None the less he valued the side of the work which he summarized as "knowledge imparted and truth discovered." As a matter of fact he had a moment before been

PRINCIPAL GRANT

demanding a strengthening of the college on the science side.

More valuable than special studies was a truth-loving spirit. "A homage to truth, the knowledge that truth is the peculiar possession of no one sect or party, the conviction that truth is one, and therefore harmonious and consistent—this is the spirit the true student receives from the university. My highest ambition, students of Queen's, is to foster this spirit in you. As patriots, we must not be satisfied with dreaming dreams; we must belong to a party. As Christians we must not stay in the closet, nor fly to the desert; we must belong to a church. But sell yourselves to no party or sect. Supremely loyal to Christ alone, ever follow that which He reveals, no matter whither it seems to lead. *Sic itur ad astra.*

"Piety and learning are both dishonoured when even for a moment it is imagined that there is any incompatibility between them. Get knowledge then; and remember that one fact accurately known is of more value than hazy notions about a dozen."

Further, he went on, "Learning by itself is not wisdom. . . . Seek, then, the cultivation of all your faculties, the development of your character to all its rightful issues, 'self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control.' Something more is needed than escape from the false; we must attain to the true. And in order that we may know the truth, have faith, the right kind of faith—faith in Him who ever has been

THE INSTALLATION

and now is light, life and love. Never dishonour yourself or Him by imagining that 'He requires your lie,' or that you may find Him out in inconsistencies unless you shut your eyes to one or other of His revelations."

A reference to science naturally followed. He was for fearless investigation and interpretation. "There are two classes of men who especially distinguish themselves as obstructionists. The one class believes nothing but what is old; the other believes nothing but what is new. It is difficult to decide which are the greatest enemies to truth, though a curious characteristic of both is that they always speak as if they had the sole monopoly of truth. When a man boasts in newspapers and at public meetings that he is orthodox, suspect him. When he assures you that he is an advanced thinker, avoid him. As a rule both are pretentious humbugs, and will come to naught."

These general principles were fortified by a reference to current controversies. "Suppose, *e.g.*, that the Darwinian theory is not established—that it is only a puerile hypothesis, as Dr. Elam does his best to show. It was at any rate useful to Darwin, and it will soon pass away and be forgotten. Suppose it is established, what possible harm can result to theology? As Professor Asa Gray points out in his pleasant *Darwiniana*, it only means 'that what you may have thought was done directly and at once, was done indirectly and successively.' For

PRINCIPAL GRANT

suppose that we hear that a missionary somewhere has found men with tails; or that a chemist in Germany has succeeded in making albumen; or that Bastian has proved that there is such a thing as spontaneous generation; that in inorganic matter out of which every germ of antecedent life has been expelled and has been excluded, protoplasmic specks have developed, which, in their turn developed into organized matter, vegetable or animal, what is the response of the true believer? A wail of despair, a plunge into scepticism, the rejection of Christ, His light, life, and Lord? Certainly not. He adores God, and confesses that He is inscrutable. He acknowledges that he must rearrange his old theory of matter and of the universe. He gives ungrudging praise to the discoverer and the man of science. First of all, however, he asks are these things so? And he finds, so far at any rate, they are not; that the first is a canard; that albumen has not yet been made; and that Beale, Tyndal, Huxley, and others, have, by experiments more rigorous and exhaustive than Bastian's, proved him mistaken. Even then does the true believer take up a cry of exultation against Bastian? No, for he honours his spirit and the method by which he seeks to discover the truth. He learns that his experiments and the experiments of those who detected his mistake have widened our knowledge of nature; have shown us how universally diffused are the germs of life; how infinitesimally small, yet how potent and of what

THE INSTALLATION

persistent vitality they are; and he understands in some degree the commercial, social, and sanitary value of this knowledge. The investigator has not discovered what he sought. Let us sympathize with his disappointment, for he sought in the right way, and he has discovered what is, perhaps, of more value to us."

CHAPTER XIII

THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN OF 1878

"I CAN hardly believe that I am principal and professor. I am utterly unfit for the post and told all the trustees to whom I wrote so, but they would not believe me. I am rusty in scholarship, disgracefully so. I am not systematic in my theology, and never will be I fear. But Macdonnell, Mitchel, Gordon, MacKerras, Snodgrass, Ross, Croil, Campbell, and others—not forgetting Wishart, of Madoc—all joined in urging it upon me. And I felt that there are crises when one should take the opinion of others about himself rather than his own. But for the next two or three years I must not touch the matters you refer to, such as public charities, etc. I can only do one thing at a time. And I must now go into reading and quiet thinking."

So Grant wrote in October of 1877, while preparing for the transition to what was to be his life-work. The outcome was pathetically unlike his purpose of "reading and quiet thinking." Eager as his activity had been in Halifax, distracting as had been the number of his interests, his life in Kingston was to be yet more crowded with diversity of occupations. He was assuming the direction of an institution dependent to an extraordinary degree

PRINCIPAL GRANT

upon the leadership and executive skill of its head. To be primarius professor of divinity was a small part of his duties ; indeed, to the end of his life he felt qualms of regret at the inroads made by his avocations upon his work with his theological students. To the minutest points he had to administer the affairs of the university. From the selection of professors to the saving of trifling expenditures, his control was necessary.¹ In addition and above all, he was charged with the duty of increasing the scanty income. It was imperative that the endowment of 1870 be supplemented. Snodgrass had shrunk from the appalling task. The work fell upon Grant. "I'll never start another money scheme," he had written early in 1877. His first service for Queen's was to collect.

The university's expenditure stood at seventeen thousand dollars, her revenue at sixteen thousand. Of this, nearly three thousand dollars was a grant from the Church of Scotland, and that body was preparing to terminate its long-continued aid. Other sources of income were precarious. The principal estimated that to enable Queen's to pay her way on the existing basis, her income must be increased by five thousand dollars. But he had not left Halifax to be content with merely holding his own. His programme was a new chair in theology, a chair

¹ In 1881 he devoted much attention to the question of blinds for Convocation Hall. In three letters to his wife the subject is discussed. Finally he wrote:—"As to the blinds, get Mr. Macdonnell and Dr. Smith to decide—they are the trustees. My own view is that they should be put up ; but only on the west windows, and of drab colour."

THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN

of physics, and a new building. The addition to the divinity faculty was an old project, and it had won the cautiously worded approval of the General Assembly of 1877.

The work was repellant. The canvass did not merely mean addressing public meetings in scores of towns and villages, it meant calling upon nearly every Presbyterian family, and upon many non-Presbyterian households in every place visited. To a proud man, this could not be otherwise than intensely disagreeable. Grant loathed it; yet it was the work, and so he set about doing it. He suppressed his feelings, and few people knew how his soul hated it. Sometimes he broke through the restraint he placed on himself; his hot temper rose at the evidences of human meanness which the canvass brought to his attention, and his will could not always keep his exasperation below the boiling point. One outbreak is remembered in Kingston. In a drawing-room Grant once found himself in company with a man whose ample means were the result of a grasping and petty avarice, and a hardness of heart which had made him an object of detestation. His unpopularity was increased by his unctuous piety.

"Mr. —," said the principal, "can you not give something for the college?"

Mr. — protested his interest in the college—his desire to subscribe—the hard times—the embarrassed condition of his resources—his liberality

PRINCIPAL GRANT

to other institutions—"so that really, Principal, considering the claims upon me, I should be committing a sin."

"Mr. —," Grant's voice was intense, driving every word home, "that is a lie black enough to sink a shipload of souls." And he turned on his heel and strode to the other end of the room.

At the outset he was confronted with one especially discouraging circumstance. Times continued hard, and the country was in a political ferment, for it was election year. He faced the difficulty, and decided that the need was pressing. Once he had reached his conclusion, he took his accustomed imperious tone. "Some have asked, why not delay a year or two? I answer we cannot afford to delay. If we must economize, let us begin at our material comforts and luxuries, not with that which will tell in future on the best interests of our children and the true glory of our country."

Through the winter he discharged his academic duties, lecturing to his divinity students, arranging for scholarships, and mastering the work of administration. All the while he was in eager, active consultation about the endowment with prominent men, in the university, in Kingston, and at a distance. One indirect, perhaps unconscious preparation he lost no time in making. He stamped his individuality upon the public mind. His first utterance had arrested attention. He threw himself into the life around him. He preached freely. His lecture on

THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN

Norman Macleod was written at this time. He gave his lectures on Howe and Burns and other addresses far and wide. The desire of the public to listen to lectures and addresses, now sensibly diminished, was still strong, and the new principal could have found no quicker road to popularity.¹

Informal consultations grew into conferences between university trustees and prominent Kingstonians. The first open step was taken at convocation, at the end of April. Grant invariably was scrupulous to work through academic channels, and, recognizing the value of the university council, he laid his plan before that body. The council took up the scheme with enthusiasm. Its recommendation went to the board of trustees, and was agreed to by them. The scheme was fairly launched.

The plan was that an endowment of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars should be raised. The original calculation was that the new building would need thirty thousand dollars, that each of the two chairs would require a similar sum, that a further thirty thousand dollars would be needed to replace the colonial committee grant, and that twenty thousand dollars would be needed for equipment. The plans underwent various modifications. The building ultimately cost about sixty-three thousand dollars, and the sum secured lacked ten thousand dollars of that at which Grant aimed.

The campaign was opened in Kingston. On May

¹ In 1878 Glasgow University conferred upon him the degree of D.D.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

80th a public meeting was held in the city hall. The mayor, Mr. John McIntyre, occupied the chair, and about five hundred persons were present. Amid great enthusiasm, formal approval was given to the scheme, and the citizens pledged themselves that Kingston would supply the building. A list was opened, and within fifteen minutes twenty thousand dollars had been subscribed. It was a splendidly encouraging start. Grant was delighted. His exultation when he came home that night was long remembered in the family. His own subscription was two thousand five hundred dollars.¹ The professors subscribed three thousand five hundred dollars towards the scheme.

Grant's note-book contains his draft of the speech which he made on this occasion:—"After reading what has been done by trustees and Assembly, tell what has been revealed to us since of the colonial committee.² Actual state financially. Expenditure of seventeen thousand dollars, of which one thousand five hundred, two thousand five hundred, and at least one thousand dollars are insecure. So we are going behind. Additions indispensable, all have admitted. . . . It is not a divinity hall, but a university that has to be sustained. For two-thirds we

¹ At that time his salary was two thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars.

² On June 24th, 1878, the colonial committee wrote, requesting him to show cause why the grant should be continued. The Rev. C. M. Grant and Dr. Snodgrass had kept the principal apprised of the temper of the committee.

THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN

appeal directly to the church, for one-third to the citizens of Kingston and individuals of the church. The university is the child of the church. . . . The action of the university council and trustees. Actual necessities of the college—four hundred, six hundred, two thousand four hundred, six hundred dollars from uncertain sources of revenue. . . . Our unwillingness to trench on capital, as a university must go on extending to meet the growing necessities of the age. We must meet this deficit, must have sufficient accommodation, and must add to the staff. . . . Encouragement from other quarters, combined with this—that everything would depend on what Kingston would do. . . . Remember, we can't go to the church for the university, only for the divinity hall connected with it. . . . This being the case, everything depending on Kingston, I have called you, the children of the university, to ask and take your advice. . . . Points to be remembered: (1) That if we delay till harvest I can do little or nothing; (2) That the fund is to be raised by instalments extending over four or five years; (3) That we offer a *quid pro quo*; (4) That what is most needed is one or two men to start it handsomely. If there is that, to him will be the credit of success, and I will guarantee success in such a case. We are all embarked on an honourable and unselfish enterprise."

Before the council had met, the "handsome start" had been made. On May 22nd, the Rev. D. M.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Gordon wrote from Ottawa that the subscriptions for the chair of physics would be headed by two gifts of five thousand dollars each. One of the givers was Mr. Allan Gilmour. The name of the other benefactor was kept secret, for a time. He was Mr. Sandford Fleming, and it was largely through his influence that Mr. Gilmour had made this considerable gift. Heartened by these two encouragements, the principal went to the meeting of the General Assembly at Hamilton, and then, in the heat of June and July, began his canvass.

Toronto and Montreal were visited first. Afterwards he went through the country districts, neglecting no Old Kirk congregation. It was on this tour that he laid the foundation of the close knowledge of rural Ontario which he possessed. In after years a clergyman going to a strange charge could always get full particulars from Grant. All through the province he told of Queen's. "A country's prosperity depends on learning and religion—therefore, on its colleges," was the keynote of his appeal.

Grant's difficulties were increased by the fact that he had to do the greater and more exhausting part of the work himself. Professor MacKerras, who had been of such assistance to Principal Snodgrass in 1869, was a dying man. He tried to help, but soon had to retire. In nearly every place Grant found local allies, zealous friends and loyal graduates, who were ready to do his bidding, but the organizing and the planning all fell upon him. He

THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN

prepared each visit with minute care. "The arrangements about my meetings," he wrote to his wife, "cause me an infinite amount of bother. To-day I had to write ten letters." His difficult tour through western Ontario began by his arriving in London on a Friday, "to find that no arrangements had been made for my meeting Monday evening on account of the absence of the ministers, and their stupidity, and I have been at work till now, seeing the papers and doing all I could."

Late in the campaign, when his great strength had been overtaxed, and when every letter home told of intense suffering, he spoke still more explicitly. After speaking of pain "which sickened me so that I thought it was inflammation of the bowels and death," he wrote: "The fact is, I must do the work I am at. No one else can. They only spoil places; *e.g.*, poor Mr. — only made one hundred and seventy-three dollars last week in the presbytery of Kingston with incredible toil. And in Montreal last week I divided the people to be called on into two lists, giving one to the best man I could find and taking the other myself. In the three days he got three hundred dollars, and I got five thousand five hundred. What will you do with such facts?"

The physical toil was increased by the need for constant wariness. The union was new, and old animosities had not been forgotten. Queen's, for many reasons, partly because of her connection

PRINCIPAL GRANT

with the Old Kirk, partly because of Free Church championship of University College, partly because of political prejudice—for her supporters at this time were generally Conservatives—was regarded by many Presbyterians with positive aversion. Grant was no longer the slashing young fighter of earlier Halifax days. A heavy sense of responsibility, a new reluctance to incur antagonism, shows at this period. He felt himself a stranger in Ontario, and this increased his disposition to tread cautiously. The delicate relations between the several theological colleges furnished one phase of the difficulty, and in some places it was necessary to deal with a matter which had been one of the recent points of soreness. His notes show his tone to have been extremely conciliatory towards Knox. His entry into some regions may have aroused the jealousy of friends of other institutions. For territorial constituencies he had slight respect, although one post-union project had been the assigning of areas of support to the several colleges. On the other hand, he steadily refused to poach on what he regarded as the rightful preserves of sister institutions. He was on terms of close friendship with George Munro, the New York millionaire whose gifts were the foundation of Dalhousie's prosperity. During the canvass he had occasion to visit New York, and he was Munro's guest. He abstained from any suggestion of the need of Queen's, leaving his host and friend to concentrate his liberality

THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN

upon the university which had already attracted his interest.

July was spent in midland Ontario. August was devoted to rest in Halifax and Cape Breton. During September he canvassed western Ontario, a region mainly held by the Canada Presbyterian wing of the church, where Queen's was almost unknown, and which was the stronghold of the antagonistic forces. One singular circumstance may have encouraged him. The first considerable bequest to the university, a sum of about eleven thousand dollars, had come from western Ontario. The giver was Robert Sutherland, a man of negro blood, who had practised law at Walkerton. Mr. Sutherland had been educated at Queen's, and had conceived for her the intense love characteristic of the Queen's alumnus. His favourite phrase about his *alma mater* was that while there he had "always been treated like a gentleman." He retained his affection through a solitary and cheerless life, and, dying a bachelor, bequeathed his savings to the university. On the principal's motion, a suitable monument was erected by the university to mark his grave in Mount Pleasant Cemetery, Toronto.

Partly, perhaps, because of the peculiar circumstances attending his visit to the western peninsula, Grant wrote a diary for publication in the *Record*.¹

¹ This was reprinted in the *Queen's College Journal*, November 9th, 1879.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Vivacious in tone, it gives a close insight into the toils of the work.

September 2nd.—"Had our meeting in Guelph this evening, and having addressed three of our congregations yesterday, expected a fair attendance. There was more than a corporal's guard. Rev. Dr. Wardrope presided, and capital addresses were made by Revs. Messrs. Torrance and Ball. A letter was read from Rev. J. C. Smith, promising a subscription of two hundred dollars. The list was opened, well headed, and next day it reached one thousand nine hundred dollars. On the 4th and 5th the Rev. R. Campbell, of Montreal, took it up, and left it at two thousand eight hundred dollars. Of course the local committee and Mr. J. Davidson, the local treasurer, will see to it that Guelph comes up to at least three thousand dollars. Had it not been for the 'peculiar circumstances' that always afflict every congregation and every locality, Guelph would have been good for a chair."

September 4th.—"Fergus, of blessed memory! I always think of Fergus as an Indian must think of a happy hunting-ground. The meeting here was 'a great success'; and how could it be otherwise, for Rev. J. B. Mullan presided. Brother Macdonnell, from Toronto, spoke, and he always speaks well in Fergus.¹ It was the evening for the union prayer-meeting, so the Methodists came out, and to return the compliment we protracted the meeting to a

¹ Fergus was the Rev. D. J. Macdonnell's old home.

THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN

very late hour. Next day the Fergus list mounted to one thousand six hundred dollars, and the day after Messrs. Macdonnell and Campbell brought it up to two thousand dollars. Fergus has no idea of taking a back seat when any good work is to be done."

September 6th. — "Took train to Walkerton. Called on resident graduates, magnates and others, and found that with scarcely an exception they were away at election meetings far and near. By the few who had remained in the town I was looked upon as a great curiosity. A man who could talk 'college' and 'endowment' when a general election was impending! He must be a wandering Jew, dead to all merely mundane matters. Dr. Bell presided at the meeting, and gave an address that I hope to see yet in the *Queen's College Journal*. Left the Walkerton list at nearly six hundred dollars, half of that amount being Dr. and Mrs. Bell's subscription. By this time I have little doubt that the list foots up to one thousand dollars. Robert Sutherland's example should stimulate others, and, to the better example, by doing it while living. It was expected that he would leave something for the town; but the college is in greater need than the thriving and beautiful town which has sprung full-grown from the forest. The church in Walkerton is a gem."

September 24th, Kincardine. — "The presbytery was in session, and Dr. Cochrane had come from

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Brantford to see the court, on home mission thoughts intent ; it had been arranged that he was to address a joint meeting of the two Kincardine congregations in the evening on home missions, and that I was to follow him and talk Queen's College. When the meeting commenced, the presbytery kindly adjourned from the session-room to the basement to hear us. The presence of so very reverent and distinguished an audience made us speak our best for two hours ; but the production of the subscription list at the close reminded the fathers and brethren of their unfinished business in the session-room, and they rose in a body to attend to it. The rest of the audience mistook the movement and rose also. I never saw a basement with so many doors ; and in a moment they were all crowded, and I was left standing beside my subscription list, supported only by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Murray, and a little knot of sympathizers. As Mr. Murray remarked, ' After such a display of oratorical fireworks, it was fitting that there should be a grand dissolving view.' That was the only meeting that was brought to a close without the benediction. Next day, however, the Kincardine list was brought up to six hundred and thirty dollars, and all blame for the meeting's sudden dissolution was thrown on the presbytery, although the presbytery had none but thoughts of kindness to us. None of us are likely to forget soon the moving scene that took place in Knox Church, Kincardine."

THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN

September 26th.—"Last night, Mr. John Mordy, who had been licensed yesterday by the presbytery to preach the everlasting gospel, drove me to Pinkerton, twenty-four miles distant. After driving eight miles, a thunderstorm overtook us. We drove on through the dub and mire, the pitchy darkness of the night being ever and anon turned into noon-day glare by the lightning, by which the heavens were almost continuously aflame. This evening, took Mr. Mordy's prayer-meeting. The attendance was good, but not as large as it would have been but for the Paisley fair being held in the neighbourhood. Each month has its own obstacles. A little while ago it was the election. Now it is the ever-recurring fair or show. After preaching, a Pinkerton list was opened, and between two and three hundred dollars were subscribed.

"Total amount subscribed from September 2nd, to October 2nd, about seventeen thousand dollars. A good month's work, all things considered! The success is due to the zeal of the graduates more than to any other cause. I find some of them wherever I go, and so far, have not found one ungrateful or disloyal to his *alma mater*."

Work of this sort went on through the autumn until December. About November, while in Glen-garry, his health gave out. Letter after letter speaks of the pain, the weariness, and the disgust. In December, at Ottawa, he broke down. Writing on the 6th, he says: "The pain came back so

PRINCIPAL GRANT

viciously yesterday that I have been confined to bed, and I did not like to write till I had better news. I am writing this in bed, but the pain has almost disappeared, and I feel very thankful. Dr. Grant¹ tells me that I must keep my bed here for three or four days ; so here I am, fairly embargoed. . . . I am glad that I have the opportunity of consulting Grant. He says that the left kidney is disturbed, and that I will get quite well, but must take care." The illness which declared itself under the provocation of these labours, was the trouble which ultimately caused his death.

The work was done. About one hundred and forty thousand dollars had been raised. The colonial committee grant was replaced. The building was under way. The new professor of physics was a certainty. In January, Chancellor Nelles, of Victoria, wrote :—" I congratulate you sincerely on your marvellous success in securing your increased endowment. One may now adopt the expressive Orientalism and say, 'Oh, Queen's, live forever !' Of course, it is as yet only a 'conditional immortality,' but in a case of such moral rectitude, the condition will doubtless hold."

The results were not exclusively monetary. As was always the case when a canvass was on foot, attendance was stimulated. The Walkerton meeting was a disappointment. In the audience, however, was a high school pupil named Adam Shortt.

¹ Now Sir James Grant.

THE ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN

Grant's address drew him to Queen's. He is now professor of economics in his *alma mater*.

The work had been carried through with a strange mixture of apprehension and faith. Writing during his August vacation to Miss Machar, he summarized the difficulties and expressed his aspirations:—

“I sometimes think that it is a hopeless attempt to keep up a university, a faculty of arts and science, and a divinity hall in Kingston, on our slender resources, when on either side of us—in Montreal and in Toronto—are such comparatively wealthy institutions. The revenue of McGill College (apart altogether from the revenues of the Presbyterian College for divinity affiliated to it), last year was forty-nine thousand dollars. That of Queen's, for all purposes, was fifteen thousand dollars, of which two thousand seven hundred was from the colonial committee. However, when I think of the sacrifices that have been made in the past for it, and the people that have been and are associated with it, and the hopes they cherish, I for one cannot ‘give up the ship.’ Besides, looking at it in the light of work actually done, it is worth a resolute fight. We actually graduated more men in arts last session than McGill did. So that we are fighting, not for a dream, but for a fact. But oh, how I would like to make it what it ought to be—the eye of eastern and central Ontario, a generous mother to all generous youth, and the hope of the best men and women in the church. And if it is God's will, so it shall yet be.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

He can put great thoughts into the most unlikely bosoms. Is it not, however, rather humiliating to think that in all the thirty-eight years' history of Queen's, the greatest thing done for her has been done by the one coloured graduate she sent forth? It is so like God's usual way of working, making the weak ones do great things, that I am much cheered by it. The one thing that makes me determined to nail this flag to the mast, 'Queen's College, where it is, and as it is,' is that I feel that our church in Canada is doomed to be a sect, and more and more a paltry sect, instead of a national church in the best sense of the word, unless Queen's, under God, can deliver her from the doom."

CHAPTER XIV

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION

QUEEN'S University in the early eighties was not the depressed institution of six years before. Her material gains had been enormous, and with them came a spirit of buoyancy and confidence. The new principal's energy in the first enthusiasm of his work, in the strength of middle manhood, fairly staggered his associates. There seemed no limit to his activities, and his physical toughness helped to strengthen the impression. Men still speak of the swiftness of his step, of his Nova Scotian fondness for the plaid in winter instead of an overcoat. However, he no longer was quite the strong man of *Ocean to Ocean*, for the campaign of 1878 had left its mark upon him.

The first duty was to use the endowment collected with such painful toil. The new building had been begun; the corner-stone was laid on May 30th, 1879, by His Excellency the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise. In the autumn of 1880 it was ready for occupancy. With its semi-ecclesiastical, early English style, and its fine square tower, it furnished the university with a dignified home, and with accommodation, which, for the time being, was ample.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

One event in the administration of the university at this time, was the advent of Mr. Sandford Fleming as chancellor. The Rev. Dr. Cook, of Quebec, sometime principal of Queen's, had been her first chancellor. He retired in 1879, and it was necessary to select a new head. Mr. Goldwin Smith was mentioned in connection with the post, but private enquiry showed him indisposed to accept it. The names of Mr. Fleming and the Hon. S. H. Blake, Q.C., were placed before the alumni, and after a close contest, Grant's old friend received the appointment.

The strained relations between the university and the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons had aroused Grant's regret from the very first. He expressed his vigorous disapprobation of the course which had led to the disagreement, and as soon as the new building was ready for use by the arts college, he gave the older building to the medical college at a nominal rental. The old friendship was restored, and later, in 1891, he had the satisfaction of seeing the Royal College merge its independence and become once more a faculty of the university.

Adjoining the six or seven acres then owned by the university was a large open field of fifteen or sixteen acres, held by the Dominion government for militia purposes. Grant urged its purchase on the trustees and this was effected in 1879 and 1881. The investment cost about seven thousand dollars, and has been abundantly repaid. The 1879 building

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION

is situated on the first portion bought, and the buildings erected in 1901 and 1902 stand on the portion bought in 1881.

In the session of 1878-9, women students appeared in the class-rooms, a sign of liberality of which Grant was very proud.¹ In the following year a Women's Medical College was opened in connection with the Royal, the experiment of co-education in medical subjects having failed. This was the first distinctive institution opened in Canada for the medical education of women.²

The staff needed re-organizing. In January, 1880, Professor MacKerras died. Reference has been made to his flaming zeal for Queen's. His influence upon his students was intense. He lectured when he could barely drag himself into the class-room. "Don't carve your names on the desks," he said one day—a gasp for breath followed—"carve them in the calendar." "Never was Kingston so moved," wrote Grant to Dr. Snodgrass. "We all feel as if we had lost an essential part of Queen's College, and a part of ourselves, and we go about our work in a half-hearted way." Grant tried hard to raise the funds necessary to endow a professorship in honour of him, but

¹ The principal was of the opinion that Queen's had been the first Canadian university to admit women. The University of New Brunswick had women graduates a year or two earlier, but Queen's was in the position of never having excluded them. Prior to Grant's arrival special classes in literary subjects had been attended by women.

² The first woman to take the degree of M.D. in Ontario, graduated in 1884.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the sum collected was insufficient to do more than establish the scholarship which bears his name. In 1881 the veteran Williamson wished his work lightened. He had served for forty years. His connection with Queen's had commenced before the melancholy disruption. More than once he had stood all but alone on the staff. He had rendered singularly efficient service, and around him for years had centred the half-humorous but whole-hearted love of the students. Professor Dupuis, already a veteran, had too much to do. MacKerras was replaced by Professor Fletcher,¹ with the Rev. A. B. Nicholson as assistant professor. A lecturer in natural science, the Rev. James Fowler, was added to the staff. The Rev. Donald Ross became professor of apologetics, Queen's long-standing desire for a third chair in theology finding fulfilment. The Rev. Dr. Bell, the first graduate of the college, became registrar. In addition, Grant made every possible use of outside talent. A surprisingly large number of clergymen engaged in parochial work gave special lectures. In part, this was due to necessity, for the principal's frequent absences, especially in 1878, weakened the divinity faculty. In part it was due to settled conviction, for he was well aware of the advantages to both parties in the maintenance of such relations between the pastoral clergy and the university.

The new principal's guiding hand was felt from

¹ Now professor of Latin in University College, Toronto.

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION

the first in Queen's public policy, as well as in her internal affairs. When he came to examine the situation, he was much perturbed at the extent of her isolation in educational affairs. He was especially dismayed at the small number of Queen's graduates in high school work, and at the slight amount of influence which she exerted in the secondary schools of the province. Very early we find him investigating the affairs of the Kingston Collegiate Institute, to the surprise and pleasure of the headmaster,¹ who had never before encountered a university principal so interested in high school work. Grant's questions indicate that he approached the subject as a Kingstonian interested in the city's school, as a publicist, and as a university executive officer. A great difficulty which then beset high schools was the multiplicity of examinations. Each university had its own matriculation, with the result that overburdened high school teachers, generally Toronto men, were reluctant to prepare matriculants for the outlying colleges. Grant quickly fastened on this primary weakness of Queen's position, and caused the matriculation curriculum to be conformed to that of Toronto. Professor MacKerras, his chief adviser at this time, opposed the move as a surrender, but soon revised his opinion. The steps thus taken to make entrance more convenient coincided with a great increase in attendance. In 1878-9, the arts students had numbered ninety-

¹ Dr. A. P. Knight, now professor of biology in Queen's.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

two; in 1879-80 the number was one hundred and one, and next year it was one hundred and sixty. In 1881-2 the attendance went up to one hundred and eighty-six; in 1882-3 it was one hundred and ninety-one, and in 1883-4 it stood at two hundred and sixteen.

Another highly important step taken at this period was a reorganization of the curriculum. One of the points at issue between Toronto and the outlying universities was the comparative merits of the special and the fixed courses. Speaking broadly, University College laid stress on honour work, and to give students opportunity to pursue certain lines with some thoroughness, permitted them to omit certain other studies, or at least to be content with a slighter acquaintance with them. The outlying colleges prescribed a fixed or balanced course, which all were obliged to take. It provided an excellent general education, but nowhere gave specialized instruction, while the University College honour courses took students a respectable length into the department of their choice, at the risk, as the outlying colleges invariably pointed out, of leaving them ill-informed on other essential subjects. The honour course met with the approval of the provincial education department, as well as of the general public, and the absence of honours in the degrees of the outlying institutions was one reason for the preponderance of Toronto men in the high schools. Grant now moved towards the

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION

honour course by instituting a system of options which at first enabled students to lean towards the side of the curriculum which their tastes caused them to prefer. The tendency continued as the staff was increased, until at length Queen's carried the principle of specialization to considerable lengths. Grant's first moves in university politics thus were in the direction of conciliation, and of causing Queen's to conform to the type which was finding favour in the province.

The financial problem again became acute in 1882. The endowment of 1878 provided an income of over seven thousand five hundred dollars, but a large proportion of this went to meet former deficits and to replace sources of revenue which were in process of extinction, such as the grant from the Church of Scotland.¹ The budget during this period stood at about twenty thousand dollars. Another source of revenue, however, was threatened. The temporalities board had long contributed a considerable proportion of the income; in addition to a direct yearly grant of two thousand dollars, it assisted in the payment of a number of professors who had been clergymen of the Old Kirk, and at one time nearly four thousand dollars had come in one form or another from this source. That fund, however, was now in a precarious condition, and began to reduce its grants. Further replacement was necessary. An additional circumstance was the

¹ The last Scottish grant was made in 1884.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

fact that the reorganization of the work of the university necessitated a strengthening of the staff. Six or seven professors might carry on the work of a college which had the old fixed course, but honour work could not be pursued without a considerable subdivision of subjects. The situation was serious, for another endowment campaign was out of the question. The course selected was an appeal to the graduates for special subscriptions to the annual expenditure during the next five years—a striking illustration of the growing tendency of Queen's to regard her alumni as her true constituency.

On October 16th—University Day—the principal announced that the sum needed had been raised. The university budget was thus placed at about thirty thousand dollars for the five years ending in 1888. Two additional professors were appointed, one in chemistry and one in physics. The arts faculty was thus materially strengthened on the side of science. It now consisted of four professors of what may be called the humanities, two in classics, one in philosophy, and one in English history; and five in science, two (including the aged Professor Williamson), in mathematics, one in physics, one in chemistry, and one in natural science. On this basis the arts college worked until 1888, when it received a great accession of strength, chiefly on the literary and philosophical side.

CHAPTER XV

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

“**W**ITH great lightness of heart, Canada bought up the Hudson’s Bay Company’s rights in the North-West; then a bargain was lightly made with British Columbia, which induced her to cast in her lot with the new Dominion. From that day to this, the question in Canada has been, how shall we carry out the bargain with British Columbia? That question has made and unmade our ministries. It lies at the bottom of our tariff questions, and throws its shadow over our future. It is our Gordian knot, and the harder we try to unloose or cut it, the worse it gets. The fact is, that the bargain turned out to be impossible of fulfilment. One of its terms—the principal term—was that Canada should construct a railway in ten years from her existing railways to the Pacific. Though the terms were afterwards modified and the time extended, the bargain is still so completely beyond our means, that, if pressed, there can be only the one issue of Dominion bankruptcy.”

“It is interesting to note how the countries most concerned have taken this change of fiscal policy on our part. You, on the whole, have recognized our

PRINCIPAL GRANT

right to cut our coat according to our cloth and according to our fancy. You have been accustomed to do so yourselves, and must have wondered at our entertaining the question: 'Will other countries be offended if we act as if we were no longer in a state of commercial pupilage?' But Manchester has scolded as it never scolded before. Mr. John Bright declares that our present trade policy is not only injurious to the inhabitants of the Dominion—poor children who cannot take care of themselves—but that, 'if persisted in, it will be fatal to its connection with the mother country.' There is the shop-keeper's last word to his pastor, 'If you don't deal at my shop, I will leave the church.' If the life of man could be summed up in the one duty of buying in the cheapest, and selling in the dearest market, a change in the Canadian tariff might break up that wonderful thing called the British Empire. But only Manchester thinks so, and Manchester is not the empire. You are far more guilty of the deadly heresy of protection than we. But of you, Mr. Bright writes more in sorrow than in anger. Of us, always more in anger than in sorrow."

Thus Grant wrote in 1879 for *Scribner's Monthly*.¹ The general election of 1878 had placed the Conservatives in power, and the country had definitely turned to protection. The problem of the Canadian

¹ The articles numbered four, and appeared in the May, June, July, and August numbers, in 1880. The actual writing was done in the summer of 1879. All the evidence available points to exceptional care in the production of this work.

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

Pacific Railway lay heavy upon the nation; the bargain with the syndicate was as yet in the future. Few Canadians to-day realize how depressing was the outlook before the great company took up the work of constructing the national highway. The four articles in which Grant, addressing himself to American readers, sketched the past and appraised the present of Canada, are the least hopeful of his political utterances. The tale of Canada is brilliantly written, with the sympathy with the struggle of the individual against great odds which marks his attitude towards history, and particularly towards Canadian history. The series opens with de la Roche's jail-birds marooned on Sable Island and their weird contest with inhospitable nature. The earlier story hangs upon the gallantry and the energy of Champlain, Maisonneuve, the Sulpicians, La Salle, and de la Veréndrye. The backwoods life of the British settlers is told with searching sympathy. For Upper Canada's "primeval and barbaric, but heroic era," he avowed his liking.

"Its poet or historian has not yet appeared, and its memories are fading so fast from the minds of men, that probably its records must remain forever unwritten. Pity that it should be so; for wilderness and backwoods life in Canada abounds in pictures infinitely varied in colouring, and in dramas full of poetic interest. In the Old World, country life is the same from generation to generation; in a colony, the scene shifts with amazing

PRINCIPAL GRANT

rapidity. After a few years absence you go back to the old spot and find everything changed. The first period is one of savage wrestling with nature. The camp or shanty of the lumberman is succeeded by the solid log house of the settler. This is the time of logging and building 'bees,' and 'bees' of all kinds, of hard drinking, and of 'corduroy' roads. No beauty is seen in a living tree; it is every man's enemy. After this rude period comes a golden era. Thrown on their own resources, the inventive faculties are stimulated. Every young fellow becomes a thinker and inventor in his way. One constructs water-wheels or windmills, another cunning helps for the women-folk; a third makes gun-stocks or fiddles; a fourth puzzles his brains over perpetual motion. Numbers go to college, or leave home to seek their fortunes in the world. In a few years more, the tides of the city's life find their way into the hitherto isolated spot, sweep over it and submerge the distinctive peculiarities. The place is 'improved,' but it is not the same dear old place, where every house was a club, and every man a genius in his way."

It is when the political outlook is faced that the writer takes a grave, almost sombre tone. Canada still is in a state of pupillage. She is over-governed—he is robust in his ridicule of the sending of a governor to rule Manitoba, "with a salary equal to nearly a dollar per head of the population. Think of the poor little province, not yet out of moccasins,

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

with such finery !” Canada is making a momentous fiscal experiment ; the Canadian Pacific Railway bargain with British Columbia is an all but hopeless problem. The conclusions, however, are far from pessimistic. The people sturdily refuse to discuss “fancy politics.” As for independence, “the common sense of the people rejected the scheme before it was formulated.” Mr. Goldwin Smith has just begun to preach annexation. “In his estimate of the forces at work, he has never taken full account of the depth and power of popular sentiment.” And again : “Were there no other reasons, the one consideration that puts annexation totally out of the question with us is that it involves the *possibility* of our having to fight, some day, against Great Britain.” . . . “Therefore annexation is an impossibility to us until the grander scheme, outlined by our Joseph Howe, can be carried into effect—namely, some kind of alliance or league of all the English-speaking peoples.”

Picturesque Canada followed the *Scribner's* articles. In 1881 the firm of Belden Brothers of Toronto projected this enterprise and asked the principal to edit it. He consented, and the work appeared in parts from 1882 to 1884. The editor's labours, great in any event, were rendered more arduous by the minute industry which he brought to bear on all the details. The securing of writers was difficult enough ; he added a careful supervision, which often involved a rigorous revision of style and matter.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

In some cases he re-cast material supplied by men of technical knowledge but no skill in writing. Another and more dangerous kind of editorial work was the pruning of the style of contributors of literary ability, but prone to exuberance. The editor seems to have accomplished the feat of doing this faithfully and yet of retaining the friendship of the writers whose style he controlled. The book became a standard Canadian work and has frequently been reprinted.

Grant's best work was put into the chapters distinctively his own. His confidence in Canada had returned, presumably with the appearance of the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate, and with its encouraging display of sagacity and practical skill. He seems to have bent his energies to backing up its members in their fight; and in the long discouraging period when the company needed every friend he was its steadfast champion. The great railway assured, his hope for the future was as high as when *Ocean to Ocean* had sounded the note of advance. In 1879 his attachment to British connection was sturdy. In 1882 it was buoyant. His survey of the future rings like a bugle call: "What, then, is our destiny to be? Whatever God wills. The only points clear as sunlight to us, as a people, are that Canada is free, and that we dare not break up the unity of the grandest empire the world has ever known. Annexation has been advocated, but no one has proved that such a change would be, even com-

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

mercially, to our advantage. We would get closer to fifty, and be removed farther from two hundred millions. Politically, Canada would cease to exist. She would serve merely as a make-weight to the Republican or Democratic party. The French-Canadian element, so great a factor, actually and potentially, in our national life, would become a nullity. We would surrender all hopes of a distinctive future. Strangers would rule over us ; for we are too weak to resist the alien forces, and too strong to be readily assimilated. Our neighbours are a great people. So are the French and Germans. But Belgium does not pray to be absorbed into France, and Holland would not consent to be annexed to Germany. Looking at the question in the light of the past and with the foresight of the future, and from the point of view of all the higher considerations that sway men, we say, in the emphatic language of Scripture, 'It is a shame even to speak' of such a thing. We would repent it only once, and that would be forever. Their ways are not our ways ; their thoughts, traditions, history, are not our thoughts, traditions, history. The occasional cry for independence is more honourable ; but, to break our national continuity in cold blood, to cut ourselves loose from the capital and centre of our strength ! to gain—what ? A thousand possibilities of danger and not an atom of added strength. What, then, are we to do ? 'Things cannot remain as they are,' we are told. Who says that they can ? They have been changing every

PRINCIPAL GRANT

decade. The future will bring changes with it, and wisdom too, let us hope, such as our fathers had, to enable us to do our duty in the premises. In the meantime, we have enough to do. We have to simplify the machinery of our government, to make it less absurdly expensive, and to disembarrass it of patronage. We have to put an emphatic stop to the increase of the public debt. We have to reclaim half a continent, and throw doors wide open that millions may enter in. We have to grow wiser and better. We have to guard our own heads while we seek to do our duty to our day and generation. Is not that work enough for the next half century? No one is likely to interfere with us, but we are not thereby absolved from the responsibility of keeping up the defences of Halifax and Quebec, and fortifying Montreal by a cincture of detached forts. These cities safe, Canada might be invaded, but could not be held. But what need of defence, when we are assured that 'our best defence is no defence.' Go to the mayors of our cities and bid them dismiss the police. Tell bankers not to keep revolvers, and householders to poison their watch-dogs. At one stroke we save what we are expending on all the old-fashioned arrangements of the dark ages. It has been discovered that the 'best defence is no defence!'"

Grant's contributions to the book were the historical introduction, and the chapters on Manitoba, Winnipeg to the Rocky Mountains, and British

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

Columbia. In addition, he collaborated in the writing of two or three other chapters, such as those on lumbering, on eastern Ontario, and on Toronto to Lake Huron. His description of the West was based upon the *Ocean to Ocean* journey. A noteworthy feature of this portion of the work is its defence of the change of the route of the Canadian Pacific from Edmonton and the Yellowhead Pass, as projected by Sir Sandford Fleming, to Calgary and the Kicking Horse Pass. Grant argues that Fleming had been led to believe the southern portion of Assiniboia and Alberta to be arid and unsuited for farming. "But when, in consequence of explorations made at Mr. Fleming's urgent request, the real character of the southern country along the Qu'Appelle became known, it was evident that a more direct and shorter railway, running due west, would have many advantages, and that it was worth while to try to force a way through the Rockies by the Kicking Horse or some other pass."

In the summer of 1888, Sir Sandford Fleming was asked by the directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to penetrate the mountains by the Kicking Horse, Rogers, and Eagle Passes. Painful uncertainty still reigned as to the practicability of the route which it had taken two years of searching to discover. The rails were laid to Calgary, and as yet no person had passed over the Rockies and Selkirks in one continuous journey.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Again Fleming asked Grant to accompany him, and so it fell out that the writer of *Ocean to Ocean* was a member of the first party to travel from Calgary to the coast by the new route. It proved a more arduous journey than that through the Yellowhead Pass. With a rather small party, the engineer and his companion worked their way to the jaws of the pass, clambered down the savage defile of the Kicking Horse, found Major Rogers, the engineer who had discovered the rift through the Selkirks, and leaving him, forced their way through the wilderness to the Columbia. Rogers had worked into the pass from both ends in different seasons, but had not made the journey across. Lack of food made the adventure one of some peril, but Fleming's executive ability proved as effective as it had eleven years before.

Grant again was diarist. He published in the *Week* a lively account of the journey. The work had a political bearing, for the progress of the Canadian Pacific was being watched with the keenest jealousy.

"In all my previous journeyings," he wrote of the final stage of the journey, the struggle down the valley of the Ille-cille-waet, "other men had been before me, and had left some memorial of their work—a railway, a macadamized or gravel road, a lane, a trail, or at least blazed trees to indicate the direction to be taken. Now we learned what it was to be without benefit of other men's

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

work. Here there was nothing even to guide, save an occasional glimpse of the sun, and the slate-coloured, churned-up torrent, running generally west or south-west, hemmed in by cañons, from which we turned aside only to get mired in beaver dams or alder swamps, or lost in labyrinths of steep ravines, or to stumble over slides of moss-covered rocks that had fallen from over-hanging mountains. It rained almost every day. Every night the thunder rattled over the hills with terrific reverberations, and fierce flashes lit up weirdly tall trees covered with wreaths of moss, and the forms of tired men sleeping by smouldering camp fires."¹

"After all," he wrote to his wife, "roughing it is the best form of rest, a lesson which needs to be learned by this work-shunning generation of ours."

The most picturesque person associated with the exploration of the mountains was Major Rogers, the engineer in charge of this division, and the discoverer of the passage through the Selkirks. Rogers was an energetic man, renowned for unconventionality and profanity. Yet Grant and he seem to have become great friends, and the narrative contains a very pleasing picture of the gray-bearded, keen-eyed, indomitable pioneer. The engineers passed on the eastern slope of the mountains were greatly amused at the prospect of the hard-swearing Rogers being host to a clergyman. They gave a terrifying account of the major's roughness.

¹ *The Week*, May 22nd, 1884, p. 391.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

"He can blow, and he can swar, and he can spit tobacco as well as any man in the United States," was one summary given.

Rogers at first was under the impression that Grant, who was addressed as "Doctor," was a medical man. The day after the first meeting was Sunday, and Fleming proposed that Dr. Grant should hold divine service. The major took the suggestion as a huge joke, received it with an outburst of jubilant profanity, and with great energy drummed up his men. Grant preached at length, and dexterously brought the subject round to profane swearing. Avoiding any appearance of slanting at any one hearer, he pointed out its uselessness, and incidentally noted its gradual disappearance from the conversation of gentlemen. He had observed with accuracy one salient point in Rogers' character. The man was passionately determined to live like a gentleman, and to have his men regard him as a gentleman. The discourse struck home. Then and there he resolved to abstain. Once, at least, during their stay with him, his guests' pity was excited by his heroic suppression of his vocabulary at a trying moment. Something went wrong with one of the canoes. Rogers opened his mouth—in the nick of time remembered his resolve—and stood helpless. Grant laid his hand on his arm. "Major, hadn't you better go behind a tree and say it?" Sir William Van Horne was fond of telling the story of his first meeting with Rogers sub-

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

sequent to this affair. After some talk, Sir William said:—

“What’s the matter with you, Rogers? You haven’t cursed once.”

“Well, Mr. Van Horne, it’s this way. Fleming passed through our camp last summer, and he had with him a parson named Grant. Thought he was a sawbones at first, but he was a parson. He gave us a sermon on swearing, and he made out that it wasn’t gentlemanly to swear. So I quit.”

Grant remained a consistent friend of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In November, 1898, he wrote a series of articles for the *Globe* on Canadian policy, and in consulting with the editor, Mr. J. S. Willison, expressed his later view with regard to the railway.

“Permit me to say,” he wrote, “that I have pretty decided convictions along the following lines:—
(a) That the interests of the Canadian Pacific Railway and Canada are inseparable, and that it is folly to treat the Canadian Pacific Railway as if it were a public enemy, when it is the reverse; (b) That—as compared with all other trans-continental roads—the Canadian Pacific Railway has been, and is a model of public spirit, far-sightedness and straight-forward dealing; (c) That I like it for the bitter enemies it has made—the American trunk lines, that are, compared to it, as chalk to cheese; (d) That it is indispensable to an adequate solution of the whole transportation problem, more particularly to

PRINCIPAL GRANT

one of the great links yet to be supplied, viz., the fast line for mails and passengers, and its necessary concomitant—freight steamers far superior in size, quantity, and quality to anything we now have.”

He was most active on behalf of the Canadian Pacific in the difficult years when it was striving for its foothold. It was regarded with deep suspicion and dislike by the Liberal party, and its heads, who bitterly resented the criticisms they received, were grateful to Grant for his frequent assertions of the national value of the line. His support had its limitations. In November, 1896, he wrote to Mr. Willison on the subject of the projected railway through the Crow's Nest Pass. “Is the government,” he asked, “committed to building a railway through the Crow's Nest Pass to Rossland, or is the *Globe* committed to any such policy? If not, I would suggest that we ‘go slow.’” He expressed doubts, which proved to be well-founded, as to the permanence of the sort of development then in progress in Rossland, and added, “At any rate, I do not think that the policy of building branches to the Canadian Pacific Railway is one that should commend itself to the present government. Their predecessors patented that policy, but it always seemed to me outrageous.”

Later, in March, 1897, he wrote again:—“Suffer me to congratulate you on having reached a sound position regarding the Crow's Nest Pass Railway.

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

Either construction by government or construction by a company distinct from the Canadian Pacific Railway, has seemed to me from the first, quite out of the question. Construction by the Canadian Pacific Railway, on its own hook, without a bonus, or with the aid of a reasonable bonus, *on the conditions specified by you*, is quite another thing."

In 1882 occurred that fierce but now forgotten controversy, the Temporalities Case. The Old Kirk had shared in the clergy reserves, and when these were abolished, annuities were given to the beneficiaries. The capital sum necessary to produce these incomes was treated as church property and became the nucleus of a temporalities fund, which virtually constituted a home mission fund. When the union was consummated, provincial Acts were secured making over to the new body the property held by the four churches which constituted it. The view in the united body was that the former churches had entered the union as churches. Seven congregations of the Old Kirk in Ontario and Quebec refused to enter. Led by the Rev. Gavin Lang of Montreal, they set up the claim that the Kirk continued to exist as a separate body, that they constituted it, that all Kirkmen who had joined the new Presbyterian Church in Canada were simply seceders, and that they, as the original Old Kirk, were the real owners of the church property, which was mainly represented by Queen's University and the temporalities fund. Engaging as counsel Mr. Donald

PRINCIPAL GRANT

MacMaster, Q.C., of Montreal, they took their case to the courts, and after one or two reverses secured a judgment of the privy council declaring the provincial Acts vesting the property in the new church to be *ultra vires*. Application was at once made by the United Church for Dominion legislation, virtually confirming the provincial Acts which had been held to be invalid. The matter was fought out before the private bills committee of the House of Commons, in March, 1882. The opponents of the bill were represented chiefly by Mr. MacMaster, a comparatively young man who had won their case before the privy council, and had made a considerable reputation as a pleader. Principal Grant was made the spokesman of the applicants. MacMaster was openly confident of success. The earlier portion of Grant's address was an exposition of the right of a church to form a union with another religious body. He also established the fact that the Kirk, in going about the union, had taken a course not only correct, but courteous. His antagonist grew restless as the argument went on, and the speech became a fight between the two men. MacMaster lost his temper and had the punishment of seeing the committee approve the bill by an overwhelming majority. "The Hon. William MacDougall openly complimented me before the committee on possessing every faculty of a great constitutional lawyer."

An amusing incident occurred in 1888. Mr. John

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

Cameron, the recently appointed editor of the *Globe*, asked a number of clergymen to contribute editorial articles on religious topics. These were to appear in the Saturday issue of the journal. Grant was included in the list, and the subject which he treated was "The Present Position of Christianity." His second article, which appeared on February 12th, stated with vigour and fairness the grounds of the attack on Christianity. A provincial election campaign was at its height, and the *Mail* assailed these articles bitterly, as being designed to undermine faith. "The Hoof of the Agnostic" was the caption under which, with acrid cleverness, it argued that the case against Christianity was stated with obvious sympathy. The management of the *Globe* was much perturbed, and suggested that Grant avow himself to be the author. This he did not do, and the series came to a rather abrupt conclusion, Grant writing a third article on the wide diffusion of the present-day influence of Christianity, and then ceasing.

To the contributor thus assailed, the matter seemed a joke. In his reply to Mr. Cameron's letter he refused to take the affair seriously.

"I read the *Mail's* article with great pleasure—for it has kept me on the broad grin ever since, and is good for many a day. It is the richest thing of the kind I have fallen in with for a long time.

"What fun it would be for me some day, at a press dinner or some such public gathering, to

PRINCIPAL GRANT

represent myself as the bold and daring enemy of Christianity, according to the *Mail*! What a beautiful illustration of my sermon of last April, on the way in which party spirit destroys, not only the sense of justice, but even the intellectual acuteness of its slaves!

"I was perfectly willing to avow myself the author of my articles when they were published as I sent them. But the last one was changed in several respects, and of course it ceased to be mine. Doubtless, it was too long, and I have accordingly made this one shorter, and will make the others shorter still, if you wish. But it is against a principle on which I have always acted, to write subject to changes made by others. Of course, were I one of your ordinary staff, I would submit to your corrections. And equally, of course, as long as I write for the *Globe*, I am bound not to reflect upon any of its well-known positions. Any hints that you give as to subject, length, etc., I shall also, of course, attend to. And if you wish, I can send my articles on at an earlier date, so that you can return them to me with indications of what you wish changed, and it would be for me to decide if I would adopt the changes. But I don't see that I can do anything else to meet your views.

"If I ventured to say one word, it would be to accentuate a hint dropped in one of your editorials, that the number of men in Ontario, independent of party, is increasing, and that the publicist who

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

secures them, secures the triumph of the cause he advocates."

In the autumn of 1888, he was asked by Mr. Mowat, the premier of the province, to take the portfolio of education in his cabinet. The illness of the minister, the Hon. Adam Crooks, had thrown the educational administration of Ontario into confusion, and this was the more serious since a reorganization which particularly affected the secondary schools was in progress. Grant considered the proposal very seriously, and several letters passed upon the subject. Those of the premier cannot be given, as the principal returned them. Grant kept the drafts of his own. None of them are dated.

I.

"This morning I received yours of —, and having given it careful consideration, I hasten to reply, because it is not fair to you to delay one moment longer than is necessary. I will treat your communication as also confidential, and I will answer you with complete unreserve. First, then, let me say, that personally, I am much gratified by the proof you have given of confidence in me. In the next place, I have no doubt whatever, that a judge or a clergyman ought to enter into public life if he has the gifts for the work to be done, and if there is a needs-be. I honour you for having resigned your seat on the bench to enter on a political life, and to cite the case of only one clergyman of my own

PRINCIPAL GRANT

denomination, no Irish member was so useful in the last British House of Commons as the late lamented Professor Smith, of Londonderry. Thirdly, I have given myself up to the work of education. I have not the slightest doubt that a person at the head of the education department of Ontario would do more good than he possibly could do at the head of any college in the country. And lastly, except on one point—thinking that the education department would more assuredly have the confidence of the whole province if it were unconnected with party—I think that I agree with you on every public question, although I must add that I take comparatively little interest in other public questions. Holding these sentiments, had you suggested to me that the question of appointing a superintendent of education, unconnected with party, was under consideration, I think that I would have been constrained to reply, that however much the thought of severance from Queen's pains me, still, if I can be of service, you may command me. But to your present proposal I cannot reply in the same way. In the first place, I believe that the experiment of a non-political superintendent of education should be tried. I am aware that Dr. Ryerson suggested the change that was made, but I have not the same exalted opinion of Dr. Ryerson's wisdom that many people seem to have. Secondly, once I joined myself to a party, I would stand or fall with it. Intellectually I shrink from putting myself in that position.

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

I prefer to be free, to be a by-stander, somewhat in Goldwin Smith's fashion. Secondly, I could not afford to identify myself with a party; I have a wife and family, but do not own a dollar; and when the party went into opposition, a position of course to be contemplated, where would I be? You may say that a place would be provided for me. But I could never be a mere place-man. And having given up the active work of the ministry, because God had called me, (I use the words with all reverence) to other work, I could not return to the ministry for a bit of bread.

"I have written you with all frankness. Believe me, that I shall ever value your friendship, and I trust that you will never find me unworthy of it."

II.

"The fact that you are willing to meet me half-way, so far as my views on educational administration are concerned, imposes on me the duty of seriously considering the proposal you have made. I feel an almost unconquerable aversion to exchange my present position for political life. Party contests in Canada seem to me unreasonable, because based neither on principles nor on measures, and I can see no reason why the work of administration should not be carried on by the best men, irrespective of accidental party associations. But to serve the public to the utmost extent of our ability is, as I read Holy Scripture and listen to my own

PRINCIPAL GRANT

reason and conscience, the highest duty of a Christian ; and a man has no right to shrink from a position because of its unpleasantness or risks, if that position enables him to do more good to the people, and if those who know him, and who have the responsibility, call upon him to undertake it.

“Therefore, I now wish to answer the question—is it or is it not my duty to accept the position offered me? In trying to answer that question, I shall take the liberty of, as it were, thinking aloud, that you may see how I view what is involved in it, and that I may hereafter know whether your views accord with mine. It would be a mistake were you to ask me to accept the position, unless our views, as to the line to be taken by me in the event of my accepting the position, harmonize.

“(1) Could I say publicly to the constituency, for which I would have to run, without inconveniencing your government, or endangering my own chances of election, something such as this: That my appointment as minister of education was a pledge on your part that the department was to be kept free from party influences ; that I accepted the position for educational ends only ; that I retained my views that it would be best administered by a non-political head ; and that if after experience it was found that there could be no doubt that it would be in the interests of education that changes should be made in that direction, I myself would propose them ; also that I went into the govern-

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

ment with the intention of devoting my whole time to educational questions ; that I was not interested in and had not studied purely political questions, and, therefore, was not yet competent to discuss them ; but that I had confidence in you, and as a matter of course, felt myself bound on every question to consider the interests of Ontario.

“(2) I know that the simple acceptance of any position in connection with one political party puts it out of the question that I could continue to hold my present position, were it for no other reason than this, that the principal of Queen’s must be a man who can appeal to the sympathies and pockets of both sides. The divinity classes have to be taught for six months, commencing almost immediately. A professor of divinity cannot be got at a moment’s notice. Neither can a principal. Yet I am bound to see to it that Queen’s does not suffer from hasty action on my part. How can I throw up my post at the beginning of the session ! How soon, then, would it be necessary for me to resign my present post ? How soon, *i.e.*, would it be necessary for me to live in Toronto ?

“(8) In the event of my accepting your proposal, I should resign, as soon as might be judged becoming, my position as a minister of the Presbyterian Church. I feel that the public should have a guarantee that the education department would be administered in the interests neither of party nor of sect. As member of a government, I could not attend to

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the duties of the ministry, and while always ready to sympathize with and help all churches, I could do so the more unreservedly when it was known that I was acting not as a clergyman of one denomination, but as a Christian man, and ordination means as little in my eyes as it did in the eyes of the Reformers. Calvin, you are aware, was never ordained. It simply is a human authorization generally to preach and administer the sacraments, and an obligation on the part of the recipient to do so in accordance with the doctrines and forms of a particular church. It would be unwise to retain such a position in my altered circumstances.

“Seeing now what the acceptance of your proposal would involve, as regards myself, my future, and Queen’s College, I feel that I have no right to take so momentous a step without consulting confidentially, at least one of those friends on whose judgment I have been accustomed to rely. I refer to such men as Sandford Fleming, George Macdonnell, Professor Watson, and the Rev. D. J. Macdonnell. Do you give me permission to speak to any one of these?”

III.

“Yours of the 25th received. Partly in order that I may confidentially consult one or two of the gentlemen whom we have named, and partly that I may talk the matter over with yourself, I shall run up to Toronto to-morrow afternoon, and will

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

see you at your house on Wednesday morning at 10 a.m. I must return to Kingston on Friday, and shall not decide definitely on your proposal till next week, when I shall communicate my decision to you at once. I am endeavouring to find out in which direction duty lies, but my present position has so many attractions and advantages, and the change proposed has in it so much of the unknown that I confess to feeling bewildered."

IV.

"I have never felt it so difficult to make up my mind on any subject as on that contained in your proposal. But I have at length thought it out, and am compelled to conclude that it is my duty to refuse. I need not go fully into the reasons, as you will give me credit for acting honestly in the matter. For a time I felt inclined to accept, because my ambition could not suggest a more important position than the one you placed within my reach. But I have come to feel, first, that to abandon Queen's would probably injure it, and in view of the fact that one-third of its income is secured for only four years, a good many of its friends would consider my withdrawal almost dishonest. Besides, the more nearly I contemplate giving up my religious work, the more I shrink back from the step. Not only would the position oblige me to practically abandon ministerial work, but I would have to surrender literary work which

PRINCIPAL GRANT

I am contemplating. A literary man must feel himself at liberty to write on any subject.

“What is of still more consequence, on thinking out the matter, I do not see how I could enter political life as member of a party without identifying myself with that party. To bring in a bill to create a permanent office for myself two or three years hence, would provoke much adverse criticism. The personal element would taint the measure. Besides, I doubt whether, under our system, it would be possible to combine a seat in the House and a partial membership in the cabinet with a permanent office, and to have both a superintendent of education and a minister, I think, would not work.

“I shall always feel personally grateful to you for your great kindness, and if I can ever be of any use to you educationally, while retaining my present independent position, it would give me much pleasure.”

Mowat's reply, dated November 7th, 1888, has been preserved :—

“I have your note of the 4th. I need not say how much I regret your decision, but I know that you did not arrive at it without taking every possible pains to consider thoroughly the whole matter; and there is nothing for me now but to acquiesce.

“Thanks for your kind offer made in the last paragraph of your kind note, and of which I may perhaps have occasions to avail myself.

PUBLIC ACTIVITIES

"As to my letters, I suppose that you may as well return them to me, especially as I kept no copies."

"Principal Grant undoubtedly hesitated," writes Professor Watson, whom Grant consulted at the time. "The temptation to have a determining authority in the education of the province was great. He even thought, or tried to think, that he could serve Queen's better as a minister of education than as principal of Queen's. If anybody helped to dissuade him, it was the late Rev. D. J. Macdonnell, though my opinion is that he finally dissuaded himself. What he could not get over, I think, was that he would have to 'unfrock' himself, (his own term) and he was not prepared to give up his status as a minister of the Presbyterian Church."

A year later, while the secret conferences which resulted in university federation were in progress, the premier wrote a letter containing the virtual offer of another important post. This is dated August 9th, 1884:—

"I have just seen a newspaper paragraph stating that a conference had been held in Toronto on the subject of university matters, and your name is amongst the names of those present. I have seen or heard nothing of what was done. I wish you could see your way to taking some position on the questions discussed that would not place beyond consideration any future offer you might receive of

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the presidency of University College. In the conversations which I had with my colleagues, before Mr. Ross became minister of education, we all agreed that if the presidency were then vacant, an offer of it should at once be made confidentially to you. I think that in the general interests, there is more to be said in favour of such an appointment than even there was in the case of that other office we had correspondence respecting, and should it be the good fortune of the province to have your services by and by, as Dr. Wilson's successor, I hope that the transfer from Queen's may be practicable without detriment to the latter. I hear from so many quarters that my dear old friend, Dr. Wilson, is sensibly failing, that I cannot close my eyes to the responsibility which his resignation may at any moment place upon me, and I therefore write this note. I do not expect an answer to it. Its object is merely to put you in possession of an historical fact."

CHAPTER XVI

FEDERATION

QUEEN'S in 1888 was a fairly well-equipped college. Three years later she was confronted with a need of expansion as urgent as that of 1877. During the three years which had elapsed, the province had re-cast its idea of university education. The old grouping of the colleges had been broken up, a new and powerful combination had been effected, and the university centre at Toronto had all but doubled its expenditure.

The change involved more than the mere increase in expenditure. Hitherto the college ideal of education had ruled in Ontario. It now gave place to the university ideal. To the older preference for general culture, succeeded a demand for specialists. The advance of science, the increasing regard for the German type of training, and the rapid development of the larger American universities produced the now familiar demand for intensity of study and variety of subjects. In particular the rise of Cornell, a few hours' railway journey from the boundary line, fixed the attention of educationists of the province and powerfully affected public opinion. The fear grew up that Cornell would attract the choicest youth of Ontario.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

The system of honour courses and options which she had worked out predisposed Toronto University to the new ideals. An increase in attendance which taxed the accommodation of University College acted as a spur. The desire for sub-division of subjects was quickened by the unwieldy size of the classes, and in 1888 her authorities declared that the time had come when greater "teaching power" must be provided. To increase the teaching power it was necessary to go afield for revenue. The old royal endowment, the exclusive use of which Toronto University had claimed and secured, produced about sixty-five thousand dollars a year, but this was all absorbed in the maintenance of University College and Toronto University on the existing basis. Whence was the money to come for the ten or twelve new chairs which the friends of the university demanded? From the provincial government, replied the Toronto men.

The situation was profoundly affected by the spirit in which the provincial treasury was attacked. Queen's, Victoria, and Trinity, favoured state aid for higher education. Had the University College authorities come to an understanding with them, the united demand for government grants could scarcely have been resisted. The outlying colleges would assuredly have been ready to form an alliance. Grant had carefully withdrawn all opposition to the undisturbed use of the royal endowment by Toronto University, and held definite views as to

FEDERATION

the advisability of state aid on the Scottish plan of recognition of self-help. To Chancellor Nelles, the prospect of such an agreement would have given the keenest pleasure. Unfortunately, the Toronto men seem to have been almost as anxious to keep the other universities from getting state aid as they were to get it for themselves. The violent and still unextinguished prejudices against denominationalism, created by the fights over the clergy reserves and separate schools, probably affected their views. So also did the spirit of mutual animosity, the result of by-gone quarrels, which poisoned the atmosphere of higher education. The provincial and the outlying universities regarded each other as rivals, not as colleagues. The vice-chancellor of Toronto University, Mr. William Mulock, M.P.,¹ in putting forward his request for aid, added a rider that it must not be given to the denominational colleges.

Grant had been careful since his coming to Ontario to be conciliatory to Toronto University. He was on friendly terms with the heads of the other outlying universities, and particularly with the chancellor of Victoria, but he had held back from the schemes of combat which Nelles, trained in the quarrels of thirty years, pressed upon him in their correspondence. Now, however, it was Grant who came to the front and protested against the Toronto demands. His attitude has been represented

¹ Now Sir William Mulock, postmaster-general.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

as that of obstructing Toronto University in its development. It simply was that if the provincial government should decide to depart from its policy of giving no help to university education, it must treat the question as a whole. If half of the higher education of the province was carried on in institutions other than University College, those institutions were equally entitled to aid. Queen's had never departed from that position.

The principal's views were clearly expressed during the controversy which followed. He gave four addresses during the autumn of 1883 and the ensuing winter; these deliverances, and a letter to the press on a personal issue, comprise the part he took in a singularly bitter quarrel. His first protest, which was delivered on October 16th, was followed by an explosion of letter-writing. The fight did not die out until February, 1884, and by that time upwards of one hundred and thirty communications had appeared in the *Globe* and the *Mail*. The bitter jealousy which subsisted between Toronto University and its rivals had so envenomed educational politics that calmness of debate was impossible. Relevance was equally impossible to most of the disputants. Every fountain of bitterness was unsealed. More than twenty subjects were debated with the keenest acrimony—some of them strangely far-fetched. When Grant had given the lead, the Victoria and Trinity men joined fiercely in the controversy, and the bulk of the correspondence lay

FEDERATION

between them and the champions of Toronto University. The adherents of Queen's, on the whole, held aloof. The university was shifting its ground from denominationalism to territorialism. Its friends could not claim close church connection, and as yet it was too soon to describe it as the University of Eastern Ontario.

Grant's first utterance, on October 16th, recommended University College to raise money for its necessities by appealing to its friends. State aid, under the conditions prescribed by Mr. Mulock, he defined as meaning "that the friends of other colleges, who have voluntarily and at great sacrifice, and for what seemed to them good and sufficient reasons, brought their favourite colleges to such a standard as to compel universal recognition, should now be forced by law to give more money to extend, they may think needlessly, an institution that, however excellent, does not commend itself to them as embodying the highest university ideal."

Mr. Mulock had put forward the need of college accommodation at Toronto. Grant seized on this. "No one now dreams that one college is sufficient for Ontario. University consolidation is another matter, though people often mix up the two questions rather ludicrously, and speak as if the consolidation of the universities would diminish the expense of teaching in colleges. Every one now admits that Ontario not only has, but needs several colleges, and the only question is whether

PRINCIPAL GRANT

these all should be in Toronto or not." His advice to the friends of Toronto University was either to call for subscriptions, or to ask the province to help, "according to a wisely considered plan that stimulates voluntary effort."

On November 8th, on the occasion of the opening of the divinity session, Grant returned to the subject:—

"Does it follow that because there is a public system of education, there should be only one college? That would be the ideal of excessive simplification run mad. We have more than a hundred high schools and collegiate institutes. These ought to supply, and they do supply, students enough for three or four colleges. There is a limit to the number of students that class-rooms can accommodate, and a limit to the number of students that professors can attend to, unless the students are to be neglected and the professors confined to hack work. *More than one college is needed* in Ontario. Why, then, if public support is to be given, should it be limited to one? Would it not be in true accord with our high school system, to have at least two or three colleges in suitable centres? And if voluntary effort has already established these, would it not be wise and economical on the part of the legislature to recognize and stimulate that voluntary effort? The legislature does so in the case of schools of art, mechanics' institutes, and other institutions. Why not in the case of colleges?

FEDERATION

"It is not in accordance with our educational system that schools or colleges shall receive the whole of their support from the legislature. In the case of common and high schools the people who are chiefly benefited have to contribute the largest proportion of the support. The grant that the legislature gives to high schools does not amount to one-third of their annual cost. If the province has more money to give to education, it should first of all give it to improve the high schools. These need it most, and in fact, the best way to help the colleges is to improve the secondary education of the country."

On December 8th, Grant spoke again, this time to the members of the university council resident in Kingston. He pressed the college argument home. "At any rate, the state has been aided in its collegiate work, and is surely grateful for that, were it only for the large sum saved to the treasury by our own sacrifices. Had it not been for the existence of outlying colleges, the state would have had to establish others before this, either in Toronto or elsewhere, just as it had to establish a normal school in Ottawa, in addition to the one in Toronto."

The proposal that all the students in the country should be taken to Toronto he mercilessly ridiculed. He also fell foul of the theory that University College is "the copestone of our educational system." "The copestone does not consist of any one building. Just as the second storey is, in the main, Upper

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Canada College, and one hundred and six high schools and collegiate institutes, so the third storey, or copestone, consists of the colleges that receive matriculants from these. The men who are studying for the degree of B.A., and their professors, are the copestone of our system.

“Grants of public money to denominations are a violation of the modern principle of the separation of church and state, though we submit to the violation in the establishment of separate schools, and in grants to denominational hospitals, almshouses and houses of industry, where the state has not a shadow of control. But the modern principle is not violated when a well-equipped college is aided to do strictly scientific work. When the state is satisfied that the work is required, that it is the complement of the public school system, that it is unsectarian, that it is in the public interest, that it can be inspected and tested, and that there is adequate control so far as its money is concerned, then the state acts wisely if it gets its work done economically by utilizing and stimulating the voluntary liberality of the people.”

Principal Caven joined in the later stages of the controversy. Writing with his accustomed keenness, he supported the University College position, but treated the outlying colleges with far more consideration than had most writers on his side. Grant replied on January 5th, in an address to the Kingston Graduates' Association. With great skill he drew

FEDERATION

attention to the common ground which he and Principal Caven occupied. In particular, he dwelt upon Principal Caven's admission that "while many think that it was an advantage to have but one university for Ontario, not many maintain that there should be only one college." He also approved highly of the suggestion which the principal of Knox College had made, that a commission be appointed to consider the whole matter. He concluded by re-stating his position:—

"That what we have to deal with now is a college rather than a university question, and that a one-sided solution is not to be thought of; that Ontario needs more than one college, and ought to be thankful that more than half of its collegiate work has been done gratuitously for years; and that a better organization of higher education ought to be aimed at. No man should hail such a reorganization more than the friends of Toronto University and University College. They must know that any state institution is unfortunately situated when it has the sympathy of at most only half the people; that such a position leads to snobbery and arrogance on the part of the weakest men connected with it; that it encourages educational sectarianism and pretence, the enemies of true culture; and that it creates in the minds of the friends of other institutions a sense of injustice that becomes deeper the longer it is perpetuated."

By a sudden turn the controversy passed into

PRINCIPAL GRANT

secret negotiations ; the negotiations became conferences, and out of the quarrel grew the federation of Toronto and Victoria. The concluding noises of the newspaper warfare must have sounded hollow to the men in the inner circles.

Queen's and Victoria had been friends and allies for many years, but at this point their interests parted. Queen's is advantageously situated. The St. Lawrence and Ottawa valleys form peculiarly distinctive portions of Ontario. Kingston is situated where midland Ontario marches with the St. Lawrence valley, and it has easy access to the Ottawa valley, of which circumstances have given Queen's an unusual command. The town is of considerable size and moderate wealth. It is large enough to give liberal support, and small enough to be acutely sensible of the advantage of being the seat of a university. Queen's had been loyally supported by the people of Kingston without distinction of creed, and her investments in land and buildings in 1888 exceeded one hundred thousand dollars in value. Victoria's position in Cobourg was far less happy. The town was proud of and loyal to the university, but it was small, not proportionately as wealthy as Kingston, and altogether unable to contribute seriously to the needs of the institution. Its position was disadvantageous from a strategic standpoint, for it gave little better command of midland Ontario than did either Toronto or Kingston, while it was not in touch with the western peninsula, the

FEDERATION

St. Lawrence valley, or the Ottawa valley. The university investments in Cobourg amounted to only thirty thousand dollars.

Grant's programme was clear. He was seeking to induce the Presbyterian Church as a whole to take the interest in Queen's which the Old Kirk wing had always felt. He was cultivating in the whole of eastern Ontario the sense that Queen's was a local and territorial institution, which was strong in Kingston and the county of Frontenac. It was his intention that when the government of the province made up its mind to assist higher education by promoting scientific studies, recognition must be extended to the work carried on at Kingston, and aid given to some type of school of science which would supplement the work of Queen's College. To Chancellor Nelles the future was more dubious. The connexionalism of his university was complete, for the Methodist Church kept Victoria under its direct control, and the union of Methodism in 1883 had been followed by the merging into Victoria of Albert University, which the Methodist Episcopal Church had maintained at Belleville. Territorialization was impossible in Cobourg, and Nelles was in a greater hurry for state aid than Grant was. He revolved various projects. There were negotiations to move the university to Peterborough, or to Hamilton. At one time he talked of taking Victoria to Kingston and effecting a close alliance with Queen's. Again he thought of an

PRINCIPAL GRANT

arrangement whereby Trinity and Victoria in Toronto, and Queen's in Kingston, would form a species of consolidated university, in opposition to Toronto University.

While the newspaper controversy was still furious, the vice-chancellor of Toronto University opened negotiations with Nelles. During November the *Globe* published an official denial that any state aid to Toronto University was contemplated. Soon after, during the Christmas holidays, Mr. Mulock proposed that Chancellor Nelles and he should come to some agreement. A series of secret meetings took place, and soon Nelles, already anxious to quit Cobourg and establish Victoria in Toronto, was aflame with an idea. University consolidation was in the air. Men who wished to see Ontario possess a rival to Cornell hoped to achieve the necessary bigness by a combination of forces on the part of the four leading arts colleges. Mr. Goldwin Smith was actively preaching the need of a federation of teaching colleges, after the manner of Oxford. The University College men were moving along a pathway of affiliation which was surrounding the "secular college" with a circle of theological colleges which were dependent on it for the literary and scientific training of their students and which also served as recruiting grounds. The air was filled with visions—some vague, some definite—of alliance, consolidation, federation, or affiliation. To two or three men at this time came the root idea of federation,

FEDERATION

the establishment of a group of arts colleges sharing in common a faculty devoted to the more expensive scientific studies. The idea took firm hold of Chancellor Nelles's mind. It seems to have occurred about the same time to Professor MacVicar, of the Toronto Baptist College, an active and vigorous institution which soon afterwards developed into McMaster University. It may have come originally from Mr. Goldwin Smith. At all events Nelles seized upon it, and constituted himself its special advocate.

Dr. Nelles was an ardent man, of quick, sanguine, and perhaps hasty apprehension, of great enthusiasm, and apparently fond of canvassing and influencing others. He threw himself into the work, negotiated with Mr. Mulock, corresponded with the Hon. George W. Ross, the newly-appointed minister of education, canvassed the Trinity authorities, consulted Grant, and strove to influence his own denomination. Apparently as a result of his activity, Mr. Ross, in July, 1884, summoned a private conference of representatives of the universities and theological colleges of the province. The conference met on July 24th, adjourned till September, and met repeatedly until, on January 8th, 1885, the federation scheme was completed.

To Grant this turn of affairs must have been highly unwelcome. Every scheme of university reorganization broached at this period involved the idea of concentration at Toronto, the one thing

PRINCIPAL GRANT

which was for him impossible. "Queen's roots are in the ground, not in the air," was his summary of the situation. In February, 1884, Nelles visited Grant to discuss the matter. His subsequent letter to Mr. Ross reveals the tenor of the conversation of the principal of Queen's:—

"On conversing with Dr. Grant I find him quite open to give a full and fair consideration to the proposed scheme of federation, but of course he will require a little time for deliberation and consultation with his friends.

"There are serious embarrassments arising from their position, but I still hope we shall be able to remove them

"Much can be said in favour of retaining one university in eastern Ontario, or at least one college of the federation, but it is desirable that Queen's should be represented on the senate, so as to give unity and completeness to the measure. . . .

"In any event the case of Queen's will require (in order to bring her into the federation) either the purchase of her building or some assistance where she is, if she is to remain there as an affiliated college of the common university. Such assistance might be given either by modifying her denominational character (not very marked even now), or by the government establishing in Kingston some school of mining or technology. Such a school would afford advantages of which Queen's could avail herself and effect a saving by so doing."

FEDERATION

"PS.—As Queen's has several buildings, one of which cost sixty-five thousand dollars and is new, it might be found the more economical mode, and the one least likely to excite prejudice in the country, to establish a school of practical science (of some sort) in Kingston, thus affording advantages to Queen's and gratifying the popular demand for practical education. Or her buildings might be purchased for such a school, the Queen's College then coming to Toronto."

About this time, Grant, in writing to Provost Body of Trinity, said: "I am half inclined to think that the aim of the Toronto men is simply to absorb Victoria, so as to nullify the Methodists as a political force."

The conferences resolved themselves into a process of reaching common ground between the Toronto University ideal of a huge university college surrounded by a number of smaller and complementary denominational colleges, and Nelles's scheme of a group of several precisely equal arts colleges sharing the common or university professoriate. The extreme Toronto University view would have rendered the denominational colleges little more than theological seminaries. The extreme Victoria proposals contemplated the ousting of University College from the university buildings and the changing of its name to Toronto College. The Toronto men conceded the university professoriate—"splitting University College," they styled it, and Victoria

PRINCIPAL GRANT

acquiesced in the continuance of the close relations between University College and the university from which all students in the federation were to receive their degrees.

Queen's was represented at the opening conference by Chancellor Fleming, Principal Grant, and Mr. (now Judge) MacLennan. "In anticipation of the action taken by the minister of education," Grant wrote, in reviewing the whole matter,¹ "the university council in April, 1884, had declared: (1) That a university system similar to that of Scotland and New England was the one best adapted to our history and present condition, and most likely to secure the fullest development of the mind of the people and the resources of the country; (2) That it was the duty of the government either to leave the universities to depend upon the voluntary liberality which they are certain to receive in due time, or to aid the arts and science faculties in any university that was equipped and endowed up to a designated standard, according to the plan recognized by the British government in its dealings with the Scottish and Irish universities, and by the government of Ontario in its regulations regarding high schools and collegiate institutes." At the first conference Grant read a paper setting forth these views. The other representatives proved to be set upon a concentration in Toronto. "Seeing this,"

¹ This review was given at the opening of Queen's on University Day (October 16th) 1885. It was published as a pamphlet.

FEDERATION

he wrote in his review, "Dr. James MacLennan, Q.C., pointed out that while such a scheme might suit institutions in Toronto, or that desired to migrate there, it would not apply to any established in other suitable centres, and that if it was to be advocated on grounds of public policy, ample government provision must be expressly made for such cases, and also that it would be useless to submit any scheme to the authorities of Queen's that was not fair all round. The force of these remarks was generally admitted."

It thus was evident from the commencement that Queen's could not accept the policy which was under discussion, and her claim to consideration and government aid was expressly stated. It is altogether likely that Grant was unprepared for the minuteness with which the policy of concentration had been planned. He felt that a cut-and-dried scheme had been brought to the meeting, and he returned to Kingston in high indignation and alarm. "I did not sleep much that night," he said to a friend. The whole period was for him replete with anxiety. He attended a number of the meetings, helped in the discussion, was at the final conference, but made it clear to most of those attending that he did not favour Queen's entrance into the proposed federation. Some have criticized his action in attending when he had no intention of joining the union that was being planned. As he himself pointed out, he had been asked to attend. Refusal would have

PRINCIPAL GRANT

been ungracious and might have jeopardized the chances of the scheme. His influence in the conferences was exerted towards the settlement of difficulties, and he never used the knowledge attained at this time to prejudice the reconstructed university.

When the plan of federation was published, on January 10th, 1885, the authorities and friends of Queen's gave their answer very quickly. The board of trustees met on January 18th, and passed resolutions disapproving of the centralization contemplated by the scheme. The weight of opinion against the plan was overwhelming, but the governing board of the university took every possible step to show how absolute was the repugnance of the friends of Queen's to a removal from Kingston. Two meetings of graduates and benefactors resident in Kingston were held. On February 9th, a third meeting, largely attended by graduates and friends from a distance, condemned the project. Circulars were issued asking for expressions of opinion. Three hundred and forty-seven replies were received from friends and graduates outside of the county of Frontenac. "The great majority of correspondents declared that they did not wish to see her go, but they would continue to help her here," said Mr. Fleming at convocation on April 27th. "A large number would not only give her nothing in case of removal, but would withdraw their present aid. A very small minority favoured the scheme ; two men

FEDERATION

would give aid if the college were removed.”¹ The meeting decided that it was “of the unanimous opinion that the authorities of Queen’s should now determine that the university should forever remain at Kingston.” It followed this up by resolving to form an association to further the interests of the university. “Queen’s would sink with her colours flying,” Grant said, “or prosper where her fathers had placed her.”

Victoria accepted federation after a bitter internal struggle, the most remarkable incident of which was Nelles’s declaration of hostility to the scheme which he had done so much to frame. Trinity rejected the plan. The consolidation was not consummated until 1887, when Mr. Ross carried through the legislature an Act which brought Victoria to Toronto, and considerably increased the resources of Toronto University. Its income was to be brought up to about ninety-three thousand dollars, and some economies of management were instituted which made the increase of productive expenditure nearly thirty thousand dollars a year. Seven professors and five lecturers were added to the staff. Victoria increased her expenditure to about thirty thousand dollars a year, so that the university expenditure in Queen’s Park was brought up to about one hundred and twenty thousand dollars a year.²

¹ *Queen’s College Journal*, June 1st, 1885, p. 150. Reproduced in the Domesday Book.

² Victoria raised about four hundred and fifty thousand dollars to move to Toronto. Of this sum about one hundred and fifty thousand

PRINCIPAL GRANT

From the first, Grant and the friends of Queen's saw that this meant that more money must be raised. The thirty thousand dollars a year which had been ample when Toronto University was spending sixty-five thousand, was not enough when the big university centre at Toronto was spending nearly double that sum. The meeting which rejected federation also formed a Queen's University Endowment Association. The delay in bringing Victoria into federation gave a breathing space, but in 1887 it was imperative to act. The revenue secured by the five-year scheme was about to lapse, and at least two or three new chairs were needed. The endowment campaign of 1887 followed.

Grant aimed at a quarter of a million—the Jubilee Fund it was styled, for the decision to found Queen's had been taken just half a century before, and Grant used the associations of the anniversary. The prospect was disheartening, for the country was not prosperous. Grant looked upon the project with the deepest apprehension, but the need was overpowering. "I had tea with Dr. Nelles and spent two or three hours discussing the university question with him," he wrote, as early as May, 1885, from Cobourg. "He has got the representatives of Toronto University to consent to some modifications of the

dollars went into the building in the Queen's Park adjacent to Toronto University. The Ontario government bought her Cobourg buildings, but the university was compelled to refund about thirty thousand dollars to persons who had subscribed to her endowment on the understanding that she would remain in Cobourg.

FEDERATION

scheme, and he intends to push it at the various conferences of the Methodist Church that meet this summer, being convinced that if Victoria remains at Cobourg, it will die. He may succeed in carrying the church, and if he does the men of Queen's must be prepared to put her in a position to compete with the patent combination or see her decay. Our motto must be 'Excelsior.'"

He plunged into the old work of canvassing—enough has been told of the nature of it. He travelled, spoke, and visited, as in 1878. As in 1878 he broke his health; by September he was ill. His letters home abound in gloomy anticipations. "It's going to be the toughest job I've ever had," he wrote in May, from Toronto. Soon after he was depressed by "delays, disappointments, refusals, puttings-off, and worse." From Ottawa he wrote:—"I think that the quarter million fund is doomed. One man cannot raise it, especially over ground that has been reaped and reaped. Here, in addition, the Ottawa Ladies' College cuts into me."

All along he realized that in 1887, as in 1878, he would be obliged to face the work practically single-handed. On the last day of 1886 he wrote:—"More and more clearly I see that the work all round must be done by myself, and why not? It is my work. Every other man has his work to do, and is kept closely at it from morning to night. I have no right to accept a position and shirk the responsibilities connected with it. Besides, it is a noble work, and I

PRINCIPAL GRANT

ought to be proud of having it to do." It was hard always to be so cheery. "One sees a good deal of the seamy side of human nature when asking for money." One or two encouragements came to him. The Rev. Dr. T. G. Smith¹ rendered help which he described as invaluable. When the success of the scheme was hanging in the wind, the undergraduates of the university delighted him by meeting and subscribing about six thousand dollars. This proof of their loyalty produced an excellent impression and greatly encouraged the principal. At last, with infinite toil, the endowment was attained. In March, 1888, Grant reported to the trustees that the minimum sum had been subscribed. His health was wrecked, and the board urged him to go on a tour of the world, voting two thousand dollars to enable him to do so.

With the raising of the endowment, Queen's passed out of the old precariousness into a new security. Great advances were made in equipment. The literary side of the university was rapidly strengthened during the next few years. Professor Cappon was called to the new chair of English language and literature; Professor McNaughton became professor of Greek; Professor Shortt took charge of the department of political science; the modern languages were recognized by the appointment of Professor McGillivray; and Professor Dyde

¹ Formerly minister of St. Andrew's Church, Kingston, and later financial agent of Queen's University.

FEDERATION

took the chair of mental philosophy. A beginning was made in the matter of getting the school of practical science, over which Grant had been brooding as early as 1884. A wealthy citizen of Kingston, John Carruthers, gave ten thousand dollars for a science building to be named after him. It was not finished until 1890, but as early as 1888 Professors Dupuis and Goodwin were inspecting similar schools in the United States, to aid them in planning the new structure. By 1889 the building of 1878 was overcrowded and new class-rooms were opened on the attic floor.

So closed the federation epoch of Queen's. It was an anxious and a dangerous time, a singularly intricate maze of quarrellings, negotiations and bargainings. The course of the university throughout had been at once judicious and determined. In the controversy of 1888-4, her champions, on the whole, had avoided side issues, and her side of the case was presented with less bitterness than that of any other of the universities concerned. She did not participate in the secret negotiations of 1884. In the conferences which worked out a scheme of federation, entirely unsuited for Queen's, and gravely compromising her position, her representatives appear neither as meddling nor as holding aloof. Grant had been offered the reversion of the headship of the reconstructed university, a post of greater ease and larger emoluments than the principalship of hard-fighting, struggling Queen's, but the offer had

PRINCIPAL GRANT

weighed with him not one whit.¹ The decision with which the friends of Queen's would have none of federation, was characteristic of her energy and her internal harmony. She put federation behind her, turned to the task of making fast her footing as the territorial university of eastern Ontario, and by a great effort secured her position. The independence she had won, not for the first or the second time, was very sweet to her. "There are some things," wrote Grant, "which really must be considered settled—the creation of the world, the union of the thirteen American colonies, the confederation of Canada, and the position of Queen's at Kingston."

¹ In this connection may be added a letter written on March 27th, 1895, to Mr. J. S. Willison: "I never saw the enclosed before. Of course you thought it would be a promotion for me, but I know enough of the constitution and atmosphere of Toronto University to think differently. There would need to be some changes *before* I would think of going to it. Here, I have a free hand, and can work towards my ideal. I prefer that, united with poverty, to a nominal presidency, and a struggle against those ecclesiastical and political wire-pullings from which a university must be free, if it is to breed either men or thinkers."

CHAPTER XVII

ROUND THE WORLD

THE Jubilee Fund was collected, but the man who had carried it to completion lay at home broken down and in sharpest physical agony. It was evident that only a long holiday could save him, and the trustees insisted upon his taking a year's leave of absence. The doctors prescribed sea-air, and early in March, 1888, he started on a tour around the world. Away from work and worry, his spirits rapidly rose, and his first letter from New York is more like that of a boy let loose from school than that of an invalid in search of health. The time spent in waiting for a train or steamer to start he always grudged, and at New York reduced it to a minimum, arriving on the wharf just in time to make a flying leap on board, whence he threw his fare to the astonished cab-driver. In England six weeks were spent ostensibly to consult specialists, but also in sight-seeing and in visiting friends old and new.

Oxford he saw for the first time. Writing to his wife, he says: "The general impression made on me by these first glimpses of Oxford—for where a man could spend a week profitably in one of the museums, libraries, or colleges, that is all that I felt I had got—was one of simple bewilder-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

ment. A confused vision of wonderful old towers and spires; of great domes and exquisite pinnacles; of hoary quadrangles enclosing the softest green turf in the world; of chapels with all kinds of rare carved work in wood or stone—the wood often older than the stone—with reredoses, each more beautiful than the other, but that of All Souls' the thing of beauty never to be forgotten, and stained glass windows which have told their story for centuries to generations of worshippers; of pictures by great masters old and new, and illuminated missals and manuscripts absolutely priceless; of solemn cloisters and bright broad walks leading to the river, or gardens walled in with thickest greenery, where, in this late spring, the crocuses and Lent lilies are just beginning to give life and colour, or—as in Magdalen—with groups of deer in them that will eat from your hand; of tombs and crosses and long-drawn aisles, with processions of white-robed choristers; of fretted roofs supported by graceful columns; and of grinning gargoyles—what a medley, and yet how inexpressibly harmonious and satisfying! When I see in New York, or anywhere else in the New World or the Old, a magnificent building, or meet a scholar, statesman, or other great man, I say to myself, 'There is no reason why we shouldn't have as good in Canada to-day or to-morrow,' but when you see Oxford, or even such a bit of it as the Bodleian, you at once confess, 'There can be no other,' and you are not sorry either! Here is our inheritance,

ROUND THE WORLD

the *incunabula nostrum gentium*, and there is no need for a second edition of our cradle or our infancy. I do not wonder at the spell which Oxford weaves round the strongest who come under her influence. I do not regret having escaped it, but I think that Willie ought to come here by and by."

He heard Liddon in St. Paul's, but was disappointed; the chaste perfection of his diction he admitted, but the thought rang thin and hollow to one who had sat at the feet of Guthrie and Candlish, of John Caird and Norman Macleod. "Although I have never been able to read one of Liddon's sermons from beginning to end on account of their wordiness, I expected much from this 'prince of English preachers,' but I was disappointed. It was an audience to inspire one, for the aisles were crowded with hundreds who stood from three till five o'clock, with extraordinary patience and even reverence of demeanour, and the whole space before, behind and around him was a sea of faces. He seemed to do his best, too, keeping his voice well sustained throughout, rising occasionally to something resembling eloquence, and using gesticulation with good taste and effect. His face and bearing prepossessed one in his favour. It indicates refinement, culture, and strength. Yet the whole sermon I thought essentially commonplace, and partly, if not entirely so, because the man is limited by his High Church position, which he maintains with inflexible logical tenacity to a narrow

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and unreal conception both of man and God, of man's condition outside the influences of supernatural grace, and of God's method of raising him from helplessness into the condition of salvation. 'The Church' is the one and only ark; and the voice of the undivided church in the first five centuries is the only voice which can speak for the church; although at present it is possible to gather its meaning and to share in its divine influences if you are in communion with Canterbury, Rome, or Byzantium. Not otherwise. The Christian prays, therefore, for the union of the divided body. But Protestantism is a mistake. It meant simply revolt. And with regard to Non-Conformity in Britain, the wisest and gentlest treatment to be extended to it is to utterly ignore it. Speak, act, think, as if it did not exist. Its churches are little else than political clubs, destitute of divine authority. He was advocating the Bishop of London's fund for the evangelizing of London. He found time to acknowledge the munificence of a Liverpool brewer, who, it seems, had just offered to erect a cathedral church for Bishop Ryle; but he had not a word for all that the Non-Conformists are doing for England or London. Such narrowness and lack of generosity in a man naturally fair and generous, would be extraordinary, if we did not know how greater men than he have been enslaved by the same system. But, how any man can engage in Christian work in London, without seeing what an immense proportion of

ROUND THE WORLD

it is due to Non-Conformist agencies, and what a devoted Christian spirit sustains those agencies, is a bit of a puzzle. Thanks to their unwearied and multiplied efforts, this great metropolis is one of the most completely evangelized cities in the world. The Anglican Church is certainly doing much of the work. Each of its three great sections, the Low, the High and the Broad, seems to me fuller of real life than it was twenty, or even ten years ago. They do not quarrel so fiercely as they did then, because each has successfully asserted its right to a place in the church; and they spend their energies instead on every possible variety of Christian work. The congregations are large, attentive, and devout. The manifest reverence on the part of all is delightful. They are kinder to strangers, and they seem to feel that in such a city as this, the church beneficent is needed more than the church militant. But go where you like, and the Dissenter is, to say the least, as earnest and successful as the churchman.

“Besides, as an experienced ‘beggar,’ I have to pronounce him rather a failure. The sermon was far too long. At first it was heavy, and a good many around me slept. After he had been at it for an hour, many began to rise from their seats and go out. And when he ended, there was almost a stampede, in which I joined, nothing loath.”

On May 8rd he embarked on the *Aorangi* for Cape Town. His journey to lands unknown had begun. This tour did for his knowledge of the empire,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

what had been done in 1872 for his knowledge of Canada, by his trip from ocean to ocean. Even before confederation, he had dreamed of the future greatness of Canada; his journey showed him that his dream was no idle fancy, but a vision inferior to the truth. Long before 1888 he was an imperialist; he had long feasted his soul with the thought of the power and the glory of the empire, and had felt that the fulness of the power and the completion of the glory would not come until all were bound together in some form of pan-Britannic federation. While attending a sitting of the House of Commons, his imagination soared above the details of the Irish question which was being discussed. "The more I looked and meditated, the more did there rise up a vision of an imperial Reichsrath for war, defence, treaties with foreign nations, copyright, and the consideration of trade questions so far as room could be found for them; while England North, England South, London, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia,—forming a great Britannic federation—would each attend to its own home matters. It may be a dream, but I think something like it will come."¹ But now, by his tour, he obtained the greater insight and the more vivid knowledge acquired only by one who knows not through books alone. Wherever he went he found that the rule of Britain meant order, and justice, and liberty, civil and religious. He studied

¹ From a letter to his wife.

ROUND THE WORLD

alike the men whom he met and the countries he visited, and his letters home and to his friends are full of keen characterizations of colonial statesmen and of the problems with which they were grappling.

His first halt was at the Cape. Most of his time was spent at Cape Town, with a run up to the diamond fields at Kimberley. While in London he had attended a meeting at the Hotel Metropole, where South Africa and its problems were discussed by an audience including members of every state south of the Limpopo, and this meeting laid the foundation of an interest in South Africa, and of a study of her problems which ceased only at his death.

To his wife.—"I am writing an article rather than a letter. But, South Africa has interested me greatly.

"The British official has indeed never tried to understand the Boer. He makes no allowance for the difficulties that the Boer has had to contend against for two centuries, when he lived utterly isolated from civilization, and yet preserved the purity of his blood, educated his children, teaching them to read and write, to fear God and obey His word, with little or no help from schoolmaster or minister. What South Africa needs, in my opinion, is a good understanding between Boer and British, and the cultivation of a South African national spirit."

Writing to a cousin in England, he says: "SS.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Ionic, S. Pacific Ocean, 19th June, 1888: On the Saturday before leaving Cape Town I lunched with the Swedish consul, in the suburbs—by the way, we had such a collection of nationalities at that lunch. I went to it with Mr. Hofmeyer, the leader, or rather the maker and life of the cabinet, and with an honourable member who follows him. The one was a Dutchman, and the other a Scotchman. I sat beside the host, who is proud of being a Swede and also a loyal subject of the Queen. At my right sat the leader of the opposition, Mr. Meriman, the son of an English bishop; an American; an Afrikander, with a suspicion of 'colour' in his eye; a colonel of artillery—English to the tips of his fingers; a Jew—attracted doubtless by the diamond fields,—there you have the principal symposionists!

“I am so glad that I got a glimpse of Cape Town and the colonies. Froude's *Oceana*, chapters three and four, will give you a reasonably good summary of its history, although Mr. Froude is too much of a prophet to write with the care required of ordinary mortals. Consequently, he exaggerates at one time, and minimizes at another. Notwithstanding, his book is well worth reading. The kindness of the people, especially of the Boers and their clergy, is remarkable; but I am bound to say that I would probably have another story to tell had I been an Anglican. Being Scotch and Presbyterian, they thought me one of themselves. They cannot abide

ROUND THE WORLD

English officers, who seem to them frivolous; or English clergymen, who seem to them ignorant, insular, and exclusive. This is a great pity; for the only hope for South Africa is in a good understanding between the English and the Dutch elements of population. If they cannot come to terms, the multiplying black populations—continually recruited, too, from the exhaustless reservoir of Central Africa—will in the end crowd them into the sea. To every Englishman I met, I therefore preached: ‘The Boer is not so bad as he has been painted’; and to every Dutchman I insisted: ‘The Englishman is not half such a fool as he looks.’”

Between three and four months were spent in Tasmania, Australia, and New Zealand. By this time his health had returned, and, with his health, his old activity. Through Australia his journey was almost like a triumphal progress. The railways gave him passes; in Sydney and Melbourne he lectured to crowded houses; in every city the hospitality was almost overpowering.

To his wife.—“After dinner we all went off to the Y.M.C.A. Hall, where I was to lecture. To my astonishment, for I had been told that Sydney people never went to lectures, the hall was crowded. In quality, quantity and in appreciativeness I never had a grander audience. Sir F. Darley, chief justice, the first gentleman in the colony, was in the chair. The vote of thanks was moved by Sir A. Stephen, acting-governor in the absence of Lord Carrington,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and, as I told you, eighty-seven years old, the dearest old man I ever met. He spoke with the enthusiasm of a boy. How he did praise me! It was seconded by the veteran premier, Sir Henry Parkes, and carried with wild enthusiasm, all standing."

These lectures were not without a deeper significance. Australia was at the parting of the ways. The absence of a powerful neighbour, confidence in her vast resources, and a not unnatural irritation at the mistakes of the colonial office, had sown in the minds of many a strong desire for independence. Grant's utterances did more than a little to show them that the fullest development of nationhood was not incompatible with membership in the empire—could indeed only be attained by holding fast to the great mother of the race, in whom centred our most glorious traditions. Yet of all the great colonies, Australia interested him least. Her lack of reverence, with which went a corresponding weakness in her religious sentiment; the excessive attention paid to sport, as manifested by the shouting thousands at the Melbourne Cup; the tendency of the workingmen to demand not only necessities but luxuries from a too paternal government, all rendered her in his opinion inferior to Canada, and also to New Zealand, of which colony he formed the highest opinion.¹

"What a charming country this is," he writes to his cousin. "I have not time to describe it, but

¹ See his article in *Harper's Magazine*, August, 1891.

ROUND THE WORLD

really I am tempted to say that it alone of all the lands I have ever seen may be made into a better country than England. It is now mid-winter here, and yet I am looking out on a lawn of the richest green, surrounded by shrubbery of all kinds and tints, and lined by flowers in bloom—geraniums, stocks, everlastings, violets, chrysanthemums, roses, and others that I do not recognize; while evergreen trees—the blue-gum, *pinus insignis*, the broad-leaf mapom, wattle, and the cabbage tree (a striking kind of palm that blooms every other year), inclose the grounds and make a sort of *rus in urbe*. I think you know Latin enough to allow me a word when it comes pat to the pen, don't you?"

At Sydney he found the freight steamer *Changsha*, bound for the Philippines, to take on board a cargo of sugar. Twelve hundred miles up the east coast of Australia, inside the great barrier reef to Thursday Island, then across to Port Darwin, and on to Ilo-Ilo, in the Island of Panay, gave him a glimpse of the tropics, at first interesting, but soon a little monotonous. He grew weary of "summer isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of sea." His letters sum up his impressions.

To his cousin.—"I saw for the first time in my life the flowers, fruits and trees of the tropics—the bunya-bunya and breadfruit tree growing wild; the cocoanut palms, as well as the fan palms, and other varieties of palm trees; the banian tree, the papaw, the pineapple, the banana, mangoes, guavas, sugar-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

cane, poppy, maize, cinnamon, citron; and wonderful tropical flowers and creepers; passion flowers, single and double hibiscus of all colours and enormous size; the sweet-smelling oleander, and the fragrant frangipani; the glowing yellow salamander and great azaleas. With all these, the landlady of the hotel apologized for the few flowers, and begged us to come back at Christmas, and see what they could show us then! But I would rather live in England, or even in Canada. It is delightful at sea, but on land the heat is overpowering. The slightest movement makes you perspire at every pore; and you feel that at any moment sunstroke may finish you completely. You know too, that if you venture into the bush, some lovely looking but horribly stinging creeper may get its grasp on you, or some still more poisonous reptile give you a death-bite. Still, it is pleasant to see those strange lands once; and from this place—across the Gulf of Carpentaria, and through the Arafura Sea to Port Darwin—the scenery is still more lovely, I understand; and the best is after that, from Darwin to Hong Kong through the Sunda and other seas, past innumerable islands ‘at the gateways of the day,’ till we reach the China Sea, and the port where I half expect to find letters! I shall stay only two or three days in Hong Kong, and go on from it almost at once to Japan and home—for I am getting homesick.”

“Last Sunday evening I came across a remarkable

ROUND THE WORLD

woman. The three nights before reaching this port we cast anchor at sunset because of the dangerous navigation, and sailed only in daylight; and so it happened that on Sunday we came to a halt beside a lightship anchored in the channel near a long low reef, one of the favourite haunts of *bêche-de-mer* fishers. The lightship is tenanted by a Mr. and Mrs. Wilson and two young Irishmen. Mrs. Wilson, the only woman of the white kind within one hundred miles, might be expected to find her life lonely. But no. Her life is full of work and incident. Her 'daily round and common task' furnish her with scope for the inspiration and energy of genius. On the coast and back in the bush are hundreds of the natives—naked, brutish, cannibalistic. She has become their teacher. By blended kindness and firmness she is elevating and guiding them. They come to her for orders, and bring their pickaninnies to be named by her. The women now know that they must weave aprons and clothe themselves, or she will be angry. The men dare not tell her an untruth, on pain of never getting a stick of tobacco, a drink of lime juice, or a bit of 'tucker' when they are hungry. The children are taught to be clean, to sew, to knit, to obey, to be useful, to help one another. She is the moral and spiritual force on this coast, where there is no schoolmaster, parson or missionary, and where formerly the poor Australian native knew of 'the white fellow' only as an enemy endowed with mysterious and potent forces, who

PRINCIPAL GRANT

could shoot him or steal him, and who did so whenever it suited his whim or convenience.

"What do you think of that for a heroine in humble life? Is it not a blessing that there are such lives to redeem the average selfishness and meanness of human life? She does not look a bit poetic; is, instead, 'fair, fat, and—at least—forty,' but with a heart as big as her body. She presented me with some exquisite shells and conchs, and a lovely bit of coral, and only that I told her that I had no room in my trunk, would have given me ten times as much or as many. She is a Dane, a worthy sister of Alexandra."

"There's a small English-speaking community of half a dozen families at Ilo-Ilo, and two families have babies to be baptized. One, an English merchant with Afrikander wife, has two; and another, a Scotch bank manager with Scotch wife, has one, and they have petitioned me to baptize the trio. Of course, I consented, and this afternoon the little community is to assemble for the first Protestant service ever held in the Philippines, and the youngsters are to be christened. I am the first Protestant clergyman—so far as known—who has landed on this isle of the saints. There is a Roman Catholic bishop living at a town four miles away, and doubtless he will be horrified at the invasion, for he has taught the Indians that it is a mortal sin to be a heretic and that Panay is happy in never having been polluted with any Protestant service, but what

ROUND THE WORLD

can the poor man do ? He cannot roast heretics any longer, or even throw them into prison, without an awful row being made, and he will content himself with the thought that it will be a long time before any other troubler will land in the diocese."

He greatly desired to visit Formosa, and to see the work done there by George Mackay, the noted Canadian missionary, but time was wearing on, and he was anxious to celebrate Christmas with his family. A few days were spent in Hong Kong, and a visit paid to Canton, "the typical Chinese city, with local colouring as perfect as when Marco Polo visited it," after which, a fortnight, all too brief, was spent in Japan. Everywhere he went he had met with graduates of Queen's, and one of them gives a pleasant glimpse of his stay in the Flowery Kingdom.

"In the latter part of November, 1888," says the Rev. J. G. Dunlop, "I received word that Dr. Grant was in Tokyo, and I set out to see him. I was then in Shizuoka, about one hundred and forty miles down the east coast-road from Tokyo.

"Arriving in Tokyo, I found the principal at the home of the late Rev. George Cochran, D.D., of the Canada Methodist Mission. I wrote about him that night; went over after tea and met him—looking strong and well, and merry as a lark ! I spent the whole of the next day with him sight-seeing in Tokyo. Several pictures rise in my mind as I call up that day. First, family worship at Dr. Cochran's

PRINCIPAL GRANT

before we set out—the reverence with which he handled the Book, the impressive way in which he gave thanks as he opened it, the reading—we all know how he could read—and the prayer afterwards. Then, a morning at the tombs of the Shoguns, in Shiba, and the great Buddhist temple of Asakusa, of which I recall nothing noteworthy. I remember the Japanese dinner which the two doctors, Grant and Cochran, and I had in a restaurant near the big temple. We sat cross-legged on the mats, and Dr. Cochran, who had come to Japan fifteen years before, and I, who was duly conceited about my experience of a whole year, had great fun watching the principal eat his dinner with chopsticks. The rice, and pickles, and bits of fish, and omelet, would slip through his sticks and on to the mats, and the floor was like a deserted battlefield when he finished. But he declared he had enjoyed it and had had a good meal—‘if only he could have topped off with some of Mrs. Cochran’s good rolls. How do the Japanese get on without bread!’

“Dr. Cochran left us after dinner, and Dr. Grant and I posted by jinrikisha across to the temple of the Shin sect of Buddhists where we saw fourteen or fifteen hundred people seated on the mats listening to preaching. Dr. Grant was deeply impressed by the apparent devotion of the people, and by their gifts. As the worshippers rose, each one left an offering of money behind him. Temple attendants then came in and literally swept the money

ROUND THE WORLD

into heaps and carried it away. The principal's interest made the priests his willing slaves for the hour, and they took us, not only through the temple, but through the priestly quarters as well, the only time I have ever been able to visit such a place.

"Another picture I have of our honoured principal is one the like of which few of his boys have ever had. We were hastening back from the Shin temple to visit a museum and exhibition in the Meno park. Dr. Grant was in a jinrikisha ahead, while I, in a cart behind, pored over a 'Murray,' getting ready for a new cannonade of questions as soon as he got close enough to make me hear. My attention was called from the book by a commotion ahead, and, looking up, I could just make out the principal's figure as he ran down the road through a cloud of dust, while his jinrikisha coolie lay prostrate over the shafts of his cart. The man had tripped, as jinrikisha men sometimes do, sending their fares headlong, but the old Glasgow footballer was too nimble for him. He jumped clear, but ran a rod or two at high speed before he could pull up.

"How boyish and free he was that day! He was an entirely new Principal Grant to me. But next morning he was again the old principal I had known at Queen's. He preached in the Union Church, Tokyo, such a sermon as has seldom been heard in that old capital.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

“Monday morning I had to start back to my school. He had earnest queries about my teaching, and advice as to how I might improve it. I remember nothing more about his visit to Tokyo except that characteristically he had a couple of meetings with Bishop Nicolai, of the Greek Church—a call and a dinner. Nicolai is a noble missionary, and their meeting and evident interest in each other did honour to both.”

From Japan he sailed direct to Vancouver, reaching Kingston on his birthday, December 22nd. His health seemed completely restored, and though the future showed that the enemy had only been repulsed, not permanently defeated, he was for some years free from attacks of pain, and could turn with renewed zest to the work which awaited him. Writing to his cousin a few days later, he says: “Oh, such piles of letters and heaps of work into which I have tumbled here! When any difficulty occurred in my absence, the sovereign specific was, ‘Leave it until the principal returns,’ and they did. Thank God I am ‘fit.’ I feel equal for any amount of work, and such kind love as I know there is for me at ‘The Croft’ helps me to do it and to sing all the while. This is a poor miserable letter as an exchange for yours, but read between the lines, and imagine it ten times as big.”

CHAPTER XVIII

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

THE federation negotiations drew Queen's into the politics of higher education. During the first years of his administration Grant had concentrated effort on reorganization of a type which demanded close absorption in the university's special constituency. With the staff strengthened, the equipment increased, and the finances established on a sound if somewhat narrow basis, he was in a position by 1888 to force public and official recognition of the place of Queen's in the educational system of Ontario. The completion of reorganization coincided with the entry of the provincial government on a course of state aid to higher education, and external as well as internal causes thus forced him into the second period of his educational career. Hitherto he had pursued a college policy; henceforth he pursued a university policy, and in the fourteen years which followed 1888, he built up a second provincial educational centre in Kingston. The earliest phase of the movement was the wresting of recognition from the educational machinery of the province. The second phase was the inducing of the government to concede a measure of public aid to the new university centre.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

To render success complete, cordiality should have been established between the two leading universities of the province. That cordiality did not come in Grant's time. Toronto University formed its ideals during a period of bitter warfare. It acquired a pre-eminence during the years preceding Grant's advent to Queen's. Its friends liked to regard it as the only institution in the province deserving of the name of university. The steady rise of Queen's from a position of comparative insignificance to importance was galling to men who had come to attach what to outsiders must seem an undue importance to exclusive possession of the means of higher education, and every point that Queen's won was carried in the face of intense opposition. This jealousy has given a controversial tone to what otherwise would have been for both a peaceful record of expansion. It was impossible to check a man of Grant's force, backed by the sustained and energetic loyalty of Queen's compact constituency. The work, however, was infinitely harder than it need have been, and it is melancholy to reflect that a frank agreement would have benefited both universities enormously in material gains as well as in the spiritual good which comes of honourable coöperation in the work of education.

Public attention was first aroused by the successful three-year campaign for recognition in the educational system. Grant keenly appreciated the need for placing Queen's on a proper footing with

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

the education department. He was particularly concerned over the smallness of the number of her graduates employed in the high schools, and his determination grew to place the university in touch with the secondary education of the province. Simultaneously came a change in his views respecting matriculation. He had come to Queen's imbued with the light regard for entrance tests which had prevailed in Scotland in his student days. "You pay your guinea," he said once, as Mr. Mulock afterwards reminded him. Acquaintance with Ontario conditions completely changed his opinions, and he came to attach great importance to adequate preparation. The question, like every other aspect of university politics, was clouded by prejudice. A standing controversy existed between Toronto and Queen's with regard to matriculation standards. The former set harder papers and required a minimum of twenty-five per cent., the latter set easier papers and exacted a minimum of a third of the marks. Queen's men declared that the easier questions and higher percentage afforded the better test of the real qualifications of the candidates. Toronto men were certain that Queen's standard was low, and that she blocked the way to increased stringency. The situation was relieved to a certain extent when Grant, soon after his arrival at Queen's, accepted the Toronto curriculum and standard, but the bitterness continued, and had one important effect. When Queen's began to urge an improve-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

ment in matriculation standards the Toronto men refused to believe her sincere. Had Grant's suggestions been accepted, a great gain would have resulted.

The secondary schools were hampered at this time by the multiplicity of examinations. Their energy was principally devoted to preparing candidates for matriculation and recruits for the primary teacher's vocation. The examination for what was known as the "second-class non-professional" teachers' certificate was roughly equivalent to matriculation, although the papers were harder and the percentage higher. It was possible to force a high school staff to prepare pupils for five examinations imposed by universities, in addition to the teachers' examinations. This was intolerable, and some measure of simplification was inevitable. The first move came from the outlying universities. In 1885, Queen's, Victoria, and Trinity combined, accepting the Toronto curriculum and percentage, and setting a common paper. This was a substantial gain, but there was still great complexity. Preparation had to be made for five examinations, the first, second, and third-class teachers' tests, the Toronto matriculation, and the combined universities' matriculation; of these, three covered the same general ground. A further improvement in which the outlying universities led was the holding of matriculation examinations at the schools, instead of requiring attendance at the colleges; the minister of education was quick to follow this example.

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

In 1886, Professor Dupuis proposed that a leaving examination be established to replace the second-class teachers' examination and to be accepted by all the universities as equivalent to matriculation. Grant's views at this period ran rather on the line of common action by the universities so as to secure a single and more stringent examination. Late in 1886 the senate of Queen's communicated with the senate of Toronto University, suggesting the establishment of a common matriculation examination. "It would be expedient," the Queen's senate stated, "that representatives of the different universities should be consulted in framing the curriculum of examination. But even if this were not done, a joint board to prepare papers for candidates and to examine the answers would be a distinct gain." The Toronto senate did not answer this communication, a discourtesy which was keenly resented, although it was afterwards explained to have been due to an oversight.¹

Mr. Ross, who was trying to simplify the chaotic examination conditions, was anxious to see a common matriculation established. The senate of Toronto University made objection, and the minister fell back on a measure of unification of the second-

¹ In all these negotiations it must be borne in mind that the senates of the two universities are bodies of differing types and functions. The Queen's senate is a purely academic body and is composed of the teaching staff. The Toronto senate is a large administrative body, composed in part of members of the teaching staff, in part of elected, and in part of appointed members.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

class certificate and the matriculation standard of Toronto University. He accompanied this with certain regulations which would practically force all taking teachers' certificates into the courses of Toronto University. This tendency was particularly noticeable in the higher grades of certificates, and especially in the useful "First-class Certificate, Grade C.," which was roughly equivalent to honour matriculation, or the first year's work at college. The new regulations prescribed the honour matriculation course of Toronto University for the "First C." examination.

Hitherto Grant had agreed fairly well with the department, although he considered that some of its arrangements were unfair. The change stirred him to protest, and a sharp correspondence took place between him and the minister. In set terms he demanded either "(1) the old system, (2) or that the combined papers of the three universities be accepted by the department, (3) or that university standing shall be taken as equivalent to departmental examinations, (4) or that a common matriculation be insisted upon at once." Mr. Ross upheld the right of the department to set its own standards. In a private letter to Grant the minister spoke of his relations with the Toronto senate. "I have thrust upon their attention the propriety of adopting a common matriculation for all the universities of the province, but so far have not succeeded in convincing the leading members of the

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

senate of the soundness of such a course. I believe, however, I shall yet prevail. How soon, I cannot say." Grant's protests were sharply worded, and he stung the minister by a remark that he could have little real authority over the Toronto University senate. Apparently of deliberate purpose, he embodied in one of these letters, an energetic protest against the assumption that the outlying universities formed no part of the public system of education. One remark which he made was noteworthy. Mr. Ross had argued that Toronto University should be taken as the standard because of the extent to which the government was represented on the senate. Grant was inclined to scoff at this. "Still, if it is held that the minister of education should be on our senate or our council, or that the presence of some other gentlemen appointed by the government, in addition to professors and elected representatives of graduates from all parts of the country, is needed as a guarantee that fit examiners shall be appointed, I am sure that the authorities will cheerfully consider any reasonable proposal on the subject."¹ The correspondence was interrupted by Grant's departure on his voyage round the world, but during his absence a newspaper controversy was carried on.

On Grant's return the controversy was resumed in an altered and more public form. He regarded

¹ This extract is taken from a draft letter in Grant's papers. The date was March 3rd, 1888.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Toronto University as the real obstructing force, and turned upon it. On February 15th, 1889, a meeting of the university council was held, at which he read a paper on the matriculation situation. This was at once a strong plea for a common and a higher matriculation standard, and a severe arraignment of the Toronto University authorities. "Let the universities," he said, "combine on thinking out, preparing and conducting a matriculation examination suited to this province. That surely is the first step. Something or some one persistently blocks the way. The public has a right to know who and why. Success in taking the first step might enable us to see our way further, say to a combined primary or 'little-go' at the end of the second year. I outlined this in private to our educational authorities four or five years ago. I now appeal to the public."¹

Toronto University remained silent, and Grant spoke again to the university council on May 27th. Ontario, he declared, in this respect was "deplorably behind other countries." He despaired of concerted action towards improvement on the part of the universities, owing to the impracticable attitude of Toronto. "I have come to the conclusion that the plan advocated by Professor Dupuis in his address on University Day, 1886, is the one that we

¹ This and the subsequent address were reported at some length in the current Toronto newspapers. They were also published in broadsheet form.

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

should test, viz., that instead of the present July matriculation there should be a 'leaving' or final examination for the high schools and collegiate institutes. This would mark the completion of the school life of our boys and girls who do not intend to take a college course. All who pass this examination would receive certificates equivalent in value to that now marked by matriculation, and they could become undergraduates of a university by complying with its special regulations. Let me add emphatically that I would not advocate this plan if the examining board were to consist only of the regular educational machine. I speak of it with all respect, but for his own sake and the sake of the cause, the minister of education should avail himself of other forces. The board should consist principally of representatives of the high schools and universities and include men in whom the whole country would have confidence. The members should receive no remuneration beyond their travelling expenses. Though appointed by the minister of education, they ought not to be dependent on him for salary or promotion."

At the Toronto University commencement exercises on June 7th, the vice-chancellor, Mr. Mulock, answered Grant's charges with great heat. Some of his references to the principal were exceedingly bitter and personal. His objection to the proposals was singular. "What means this scheme?" he asked. "It is simply a proposition to place under

PRINCIPAL GRANT

denominational control at once a large portion of the public school system of Ontario, with the prospect of extending that control until the whole system shall have passed beyond the reach of the people's responsible representatives and become an element of discord among our people to the destruction of the whole system."

These animadversions referred to Grant's earlier suggestion of common university action. Of the scheme for a leaving examination, Mr. Mulock spoke more respectfully, claiming, however, that it was not novel, and insisting that in the framing of it the outlying universities must have no part.¹ Grant retorted effectively that denominational theological colleges like St. Michael's, Knox, and Wycliffe were represented on the Toronto senate.

The heat of the dispute moderated, and Grant and Mulock soon were in friendly communication. In April, 1890, the Toronto senate fixed the matriculation curriculum for the ensuing quinquennial period, and the outlying universities were invited to send representatives to a conference on the subject. The meeting was, on the whole, pleasant, and some attention was paid to the representations made by the other universities, although one recommendation made by the gathering was rejected by the Toronto senate, which passed upon the scheme drawn up in the conference. Toronto, since

¹ The text of this address may be found in the *Globe and Mail* of June 8th, 1889.

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

then, has shown a disposition to consult the other universities on this matter. The idea of a leaving examination took hold. The minister pressed it with vigour, and, in 1891, the project was accomplished; pass matriculation was represented by the junior leaving, honour matriculation and the "First C." certificate by the senior leaving. The difficulty of the papers was somewhat increased and the minimum percentage was raised to thirty-three and a third per cent. In the same year the old central committee of examiners was replaced by what was known as the joint board, composed of representatives of Toronto University and the education department. Mr. Ross was disposed to keep the nomination of the entire board in his own hands and to exercise this patronage so as to give representation to the outlying universities. The friends of Toronto University, led by Mr. Edward Blake, succeeded in overbearing him on this point. The joint board, however, in appointing examiners, gave places to Professors Dupuis and Fletcher, and later, in 1898, Professor Knight was added. Thus Grant attained his aim, improvement of the matriculation standard, and recognition of Queen's in regard to it. Later, in 1897, the joint board was replaced by the educational council for conducting examinations. Grant seems to have hoped that this council would be given functions which would make it a strong advisory body, such as he had favoured from the first. Had such a board been formed he would have

PRINCIPAL GRANT

been willing to serve on it. Mr. Ross, however, limited the powers of the council to appointing examiners and drawing up papers, and although members of the staff of Queen's have served on it, Grant himself was not disposed to become part of the machine for conducting examinations and recording percentages. He never was fully satisfied with the matriculation standard, and in his later years was critical of the disposition of University College and Victoria College to admit unmatriculated students to their first year classes, counting the passing of the examinations in those classes as "senior matriculation." The administration of Queen's became increasingly stringent in the matter of unmatriculated students. In the session of 1902-3, out of a total attendance of four hundred and ninety-four in arts, only nine were non-matriculated students proceeding to a degree. During the same session about forty per cent. of the first year students at University College had not matriculated.¹

During these years Queen's remodelled her curriculum, establishing a number of strong honour courses, and Grant, without much difficulty, induced the department to recognize these courses as conferring "specialist standing."² This opened the

¹ See pp. 9-11 of Dr. John Seath's presidential address, "Some Needed Educational Reforms," at the 1903 convention of the Ontario Educational Association.

² The secondary schools of Ontario are virtually in the hands of teachers who are ranked as specially qualified in certain departments by virtue of having taken university honour courses.

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

way into the teaching vocation, and the number of Queen's graduates in the high schools and collegiate institutes increased rapidly. The hold of Queen's on the teachers of the province was greatly strengthened by the institution in 1890-1 of the "extra-mural" courses. By this device persons who cannot attend are enabled to prosecute studies on the lines followed by the students in the arts faculty. Topics for essays are prescribed, books are recommended, and the essays submitted are corrected and returned. In this way guidance is given in a course of home reading covering the college curriculum. Many students so prepared have competed successfully at the regular university examinations and have attained to degrees. This expedient appeals strongly to teachers who cannot abandon their work, and has given Queen's an additional constituency. The university authorities scrutinize each case, making the extension of the privilege an act of grace. A large proportion of those who begin their studies extra-murally, find their enthusiasm so roused that the last two or even three years of their course are spent within the walls of the university.

Grant never altered in his belief that a board of experts with a strong permanent head was to be preferred to a minister of education identified with party conflicts. "I still think," he wrote to Mowat, in 1886, "that the appointment of a minister of education was, in the circumstances of this province, a retrograde step; and that a non-political

PRINCIPAL GRANT

superintendent, with a council of educational representatives would be best for the province."

Thirteen years later, in April, 1899, he gave his views to the Hon. G. W. Ross:—

"I read in yesterday's *Globe* the report of Professor Robertson's address, of the discussion which followed, and the motion adopted, and after thinking it all over, I resolved to write you my views, and to take the liberty of offering one or two suggestions.

"It is evident that, so far as our secondary education is concerned, there is a good deal of general unrest, arising, it seems to me, from the fact that our system has not yet found its centre of gravity. This has now found expression, and as nothing can be done at the teachers' convention but simply express the discontent, crude remedies are likely to be suggested, the adoption of any of which would only aggravate matters. In these circumstances, would it not be wise for the department to consult with the most experienced educationists regarding the fundamental principles which should regulate our system of secondary schools? I was glad to learn from you that you favoured the plan of a consultative board, to be called into existence by legislative action. Such a board would be useful or injurious to education according to its *personnel*. You might find it a great assistance, or only an addition to your burdens and to the dead weight of the system which at present is apparently felt to be

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

oppressive. You will never get the right kind of board by the adoption of the rep. by pop. principle,¹ or even by taking the same number of men from each of the universities of the province. You need the wisest men, no matter where they come from. And before attempting to call such a board into existence by legislative action, why not take the initiative yourself and invite the universities to send representatives to discuss with you and the high school inspectors and any other experts connected with the department, the questions which are now uppermost in the minds of all? I mean such questions as the following:—

“1. Should there be a uniform curriculum for all high school pupils?

“2. If not, how far should the common curriculum extend, or what should it cover?

“3. What should be the course for pupils whose education is not likely to go beyond what is furnished by the high schools?

“4. What is the right curriculum for teachers, and how much of it should be uniform, and what options might be allowed?

“5. How far should intending teachers and matriculants have the same course?

“6. What is the best curriculum for matriculation?

“7. On what principles should a consultative board be constituted?”

¹ A reference to the “Representation by Population” controversy which, previous to confederation, was long an issue in Canadian politics.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Secondary education always interested him. In June, 1899, in a letter to the Hon. G. W. Ross, he gave his later views on some aspects of high school work :—

“ I promised to place before you, when we should meet at the General Assembly, some definite proposals regarding an alternative professional qualification for teaching in Ontario high schools. As you could not be with us, allow me to put my views before you in writing.

“ Our aim is to get our very best men into the teaching profession, as a good system of education is that which attracts to it the best teachers. Now, admitting that the Normal College¹ does good work, the question arises, should it be the only door? It seems to me that there are two classes of men who on the average are better material than even that which finds its way to the Normal College, after getting specialist qualifications at the universities, and that the present inflexible rule should be relaxed in the cases of these.

“ 1. Those who, after graduating with honours, return to the university for post-graduate study and tutorial or fellowship work. Such men are more matured in thought and get much more practice in teaching than those who take a year at Hamilton. But, to give the Normal College the advantage, it might be well to make a two years' term of suc-

¹ An institution established by the government at Hamilton to give professional training to teachers in secondary schools.

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

cessful teaching of tutorial classes requisite as an alternative for the year at Hamilton. If necessary, an examination on the text-books on methods might be added, though I attach no importance to it.

"2. Those who, after graduating with honours here, take a post-graduate course of at least two years in a British or European university. Such a course gives them a culture and width of view most desirable in our teachers. An examination on methods might also be prescribed in their case. I would willingly add to the foreign universities, those of Harvard, Cornell, Clark, Johns Hopkins, Chicago, but it would not do to discriminate.

"With regard to the other subject on which we spoke, a Normal College for eastern Ontario, I think that it would relieve the pressure of numbers at Hamilton, and that the cost would be comparatively small. It seems to me that it is a good thing for a collegiate institute to have a few students try their prentice hand at teaching, but not good to have many. I find that Principal Ellis¹ agrees with me on this point. Between our tutorial classes and the institute, we could give to about thirty much more practical work than is now given at Hamilton, and the theoretical could be taken in hand by one professor of the science of education, in addition to our present philosophical course."

As early as 1884 Grant was revolving plans for

¹ Principal of the Kingston Collegiate Institute.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

establishing some form of a school of science in connection with Queen's. One of his aims was to promote close relations between the university and the general public; Sir William Mulock, who was engaged in somewhat similar efforts in connection with Toronto University, has borne testimony to the aid which he received from the principal of Queen's in breaking up the old aloofness of higher education. In the teaching of science, more especially of applied science, Grant saw peculiar opportunities for work of this nature. Aid for that purpose he was determined must come in part from the government. He was a graduate of a university maintained by church contributions, by private beneficence and by public aid. He was principal of a university which from her founding had taken the position that an institution which is rendering public service deserves public support. The scheme of university federation was an offer to denominational colleges that if they would actually curtail their teaching of secular subjects, thrust somewhat more prominently forward their denominational side, and move to the Queen's Park in Toronto, a measure of government aid would be given them. Queen's refused to accept the offer, because she could not abandon Kingston. Grant's unvarying contention was that some countervailing advantages should be given to Queen's, partly because of her inherent claims as an institution which, at no expense to the public, provided a respectable proportion of the

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

higher education of the province, partly because of the claims of eastern Ontario, whose educational interests he was gradually centring in Kingston. He was ready to prove that the teaching of arts subjects involved no denominational propaganda. But the escape from the infliction of an Established Church had made so deep an impression on the mind of the province that a deep antipathy prevailed to granting aid to educational institutions connected with religious denominations, however slight the tie, and however great the gratuitous service which they rendered to the public. Grant pointed out that the same objection did not exist in the case of aid to denominational hospitals, but he never convinced the Ontario government that it could venture upon direct subventions to an arts college which in 1902 granted two-fifths of the academic degrees won in the province. He never yielded the point, but turned the weight of his attack to the gaining of public aid for the teaching of science, a division of knowledge in which no suspicion of denominational bias could be entertained.

At the same time he was resolute to avoid subjection of the university to political or financial influences. "You need not be afraid," he wrote to his son in November, 1900, "of our putting our necks under the yoke of government, as Toronto is, or under the yoke of millionaires, as McGill is.¹ If the

¹ On one occasion Grant attended the closing exercises at McGill University shortly after a series of magnificent benefactions to that

PRINCIPAL GRANT

government offered millions in order to rule or control us, we would laugh at them. It must be as in Britain, and as they have done with Upper Canada College, recognizing that an independent board is better than a government for exercising patronage and managing the affairs of an educational institution. You are on a wrong scent altogether in chasing 'government control.' As Betsey Prig said to Sairey Gamp, 'there ain't no sich a person,' so far as we are concerned."

Chancellor Nelles, while working for the scheme of consolidation which suited Victoria, found Grant meditating the foundation of a school of science at Kingston. A local grievance aided him in his efforts. About ten years before, Mr. Mowat's government had committed itself to a promise that a normal school for eastern Ontario should be erected in Kingston. A site was procured, but the city of Ottawa asserted its claim to the institution and the promise was broken, to the anger of Kingston, which revenged itself by electing an opponent of the Mowat government. This fact gave a leverage to the demand that some form of provincial edu-

institution had been begun by Mr. Redpath and Sir William Macdonald. Several of the speakers mentioned these, and one in particular sneered at the comparatively small resources of Queen's. This irritated Grant, and when his turn to speak came, his retort was ready. "We must all," he said, with great outward urbanity, "congratulate McGill upon these large additions to her revenue. Especially noteworthy is the manner in which, following the precept of the great apostle of culture, she has drawn them so exclusively from 'sweetness and smoke.'"

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

cational institution be established in the city. In 1885, when the federation scheme was announced, a movement was set on foot in Kingston to demand a school of agriculture and practical science for the city, partly to give Queen's benefits analogous to those given to Victoria, partly to satisfy the city's claims, and partly to assist in the development of the country adjacent to Kingston. In June of 1885 the project took definite form. The school was to be styled the College of Practical Science and Agriculture for Eastern Ontario, and it was stated in the prospectus that the intention was to affiliate the institution with Queen's University.

In March, 1887, when the Methodist Church had decided that Victoria should move to Toronto, a number of Kingston residents presented to the government a memorandum demanding aid for a faculty or school of applied science for Queen's. In this document it was stated that "the mining interests of this (the eastern) section are daily becoming more important," and the fact was cited that eleven counties and five cities and towns in the vicinity had passed resolutions asking the legislature to establish such a school in connection with Queen's. This proposal was recognized at the time to be a demand that Queen's should be compensated for the advantages given to the other universities. For instance, Mr. William Houston, then librarian of the Ontario legislature, wrote in February, 1887, to Principal Grant, to the effect that many mem-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

bers of the legislature regarded the establishment of such a school at Kingston with favour, but held that it must be regarded as "a settlement of the claims of Queen's for provincial aid, in consideration of the privilege accorded to Victoria." No action, however, was taken by the government. In 1888 a step forward was made in securing the building by private beneficence of the Carruthers Science Hall. This was not a large building, but it was well planned, and it proved exceedingly useful in relieving the over-crowding of the main building, which by this time was excessive.¹ In 1889 a plan for securing Dominion aid was broached, the idea being to establish a "Bureau of Mines and Mining" in connection with the Geological Survey, and to found at Kingston a school of mining in connection with it.

In 1892, the Hon. William Harty, a supporter of Sir Oliver Mowat, was elected member for Kingston. Mr. Harty had been active in the agitation, and he now pressed the case strongly. A school of practical science had been built up in connection with Toronto University, and there was great reluctance to duplicate this institution. The government, however, intimated that aid might be given to an institution separate from Queen's and doing work not covered in Toronto University. Grant consulted Dr. W. L. Goodwin, the professor of chemistry. The professor pointed out that the

¹ There were over four hundred students enrolled in 1890-1, when the hall was first used.

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

School of Practical Science had no equipment for giving instruction in mining, and that no graduates in mining engineering were recorded in the Toronto calendar. A school of mining was accordingly proposed and the government promised to aid it. The people of Kingston invited representatives from all the counties in eastern Ontario to meet in August, 1892, in Kingston. At the meeting hearty support was given to the scheme, but a division of opinion showed itself, some of the counties whose interests were agricultural expressing a desire to have a dairy school added to the governmental institutions established at Kingston. Provision for instruction in agriculture accordingly made part of the project. Energetic local support was given. The city council set aside for the dairy school a property worth from twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars, while the citizens subscribed money freely to the school of mining. In 1901, Mr. Harty told his colleagues in the cabinet that the city had provided fully thirty-five thousand dollars in cash for the school.

The government aid which was first bestowed in 1898, amounted to six thousand dollars a year, of which five thousand dollars were for the school of mining, and one thousand dollars for the dairy school. Negotiations with the government were difficult. Sir Oliver Mowat was insistent upon the careful avoidance of all appearance of duplicating any part of the work of the School of Practical

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Science at Toronto. He also vetoed all mention of the contemplated affiliation with Queen's, though suggesting that this could be effected later. His attitude is shown in a letter which he wrote to Grant on October 15th, 1892: "On consideration, and for parliamentary reasons, and perhaps others, I should like the contemplated school to be called for the present the School of Mining and Agriculture; and I should advise also that the instrument for incorporation should not provide for affiliation with Queen's College, otherwise we might seem to the House, and to others, to be endowing Queen's College, or a department in Queen's College. Affiliation of the school to the college can come later, if this should hereafter be deemed expedient and approved of by yourself and those interested in the school."

Sir Oliver Mowat scrutinized the preliminary arrangements with great minuteness; he insisted on the titles for the professors being chosen with a view to suggesting that mining alone would be taught. "In your printed paper signed by the chairman of the board of governors, you describe some of the teaching staff in terms implying that we are assisting a school of practical science generally, which we cannot do. Thus, your list contains 'a professor of applied chemistry,' 'a demonstrator of analytical chemistry,' and 'a lecturer on applied physics.' The minister of education suggests that instead of a professor of applied chemistry you

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

might have a professor of mineralogy, withdrawing that subject from the lecturer on assaying and metallurgy; that you might add to your description of demonstrator of analytical chemistry, 'as applied to mining and agriculture,' and that instead of a lecturer on applied physics, you might have a lecturer on mining engineering." Sir Oliver, in the same letter, again insisted on the elimination of the statement that the school would be affiliated with Queen's. This was inserted in the draft of the announcement, but the premier declared that it was "expedient to avoid" such a statement.

The new institution was started in 1898. The dairy school was planned on a modest scale, and has mainly done practical work; later the provincial minister of agriculture established a similar school at Strathroy, in the western peninsula of Ontario, the authorities of Queen's taking this as a compliment to the scheme of local instruction which they had devised. The School of Mining proved a vigorous institution from the first, and under Grant's leadership, and with the enthusiastic work which he knew how to elicit from his assistants, it was made the nucleus for the school of applied science for which he had been planning. The affiliation which the premier had insisted on delaying came in 1897, and later still the school, while retaining its autonomy, became the faculty of practical science of the university. The arrangement made was that it should rent from the university the Carruthers

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Science Hall. A year or two later a government grant was obtained for a mining laboratory, in which specimens of ore were assayed. There was much mining activity in the province, alike in eastern and in north-western Ontario, at this period, and the school at once entered into close relations with the practical miners. From the start the attendance was good, and it increased rapidly.

As soon as the school was fairly under way provision was made for cognate departments. In 1894 a faculty of applied science was created, with Professor Dupuis as dean. A mechanical laboratory was erected, apparatus was procured, and gradually the new dean was able to show a curriculum which included surveying, civil engineering, and electrical engineering. The work was carried on under great difficulties owing to the smallness of the means available. The utmost economy was practised. The work of the various faculties was fitted together with such nicety that not the slightest duplication of effort or expenditure occurred. Medical students received their training in three buildings—their own, the arts building, and the School of Mining. The mining students attended lectures in the arts building. Apparatus was procured in a measure by inducing large manufacturing firms to make gifts of machinery. "Its governors and professors have begged nearly all its equipment," Mr. Harty said in 1901. Grant's superb skill as an administrator never showed to greater advantage than during

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

these high-pressure years when the college was expanding into the many-sided university. Throughout he was explicit as to his purpose in starting the School of Mining. "I had to master a new department of work," he wrote to Sir Oliver Mowat in 1895, "and interest friends all over the country in the new project. Success in one department, I felt, might eventually broaden it into a school of practical science."

During 1894 and 1895, the School of Mining carried on a controversy with the Ontario government which brought out the difficulties in the way of getting government aid for such a faculty as Grant was planning. It resulted in Grant's retirement from the board of governors of the school, after a sharp correspondence with the premier. The circumstances attending the starting of the school had led its founders to regard the subject of mining as made over to them in the provincial educational system, and they made particular efforts to get in touch with the mining interests of northern and north-western Ontario. In 1894, however, the Ontario government established a department of mining in the School of Practical Science in Toronto. This was announced under circumstances which caused great annoyance to the Kingston authorities. The School of Mining, in pursuance of its policy of keeping in touch with the practical miners, in March, 1894, opened a "prospectors' class" in Marmora, a mining centre fifty or sixty

PRINCIPAL GRANT

miles west of Kingston. A small fee was charged, which made the extension work almost self-supporting. They were arranging to open another at Sudbury, and were contemplating the establishment of others still further west, when they learned that the government had suddenly decided to send a professor of the Toronto school to open free prospectors' classes on the plan which the Kingston school had initiated. To the protests of Grant and the board of governors the reply was made that the School of Mining was intended to meet the needs of eastern Ontario alone, and that it had all along been the intention of the government to provide for the teaching of mining in Toronto. Later on this was expanded into the statement that the plan of the government was to have the principal mining school at Toronto, with subsidiary schools, for practical rather than theoretical work, at local centres such as Kingston, and possibly Port Arthur. Grant availed himself of the opening thus afforded. "But why it should be thought unreasonable to have two schools of practical science, yet reasonable to have three mining schools, I cannot understand." The controversy dragged for a reason which is worth noting. In 1894 a provincial general election took place. Grant supported the government, taking the ground that the honesty and administrative skill of the premier merited another term of office. "Ontario cannot afford to dismiss Sir Oliver Mowat," was the way he put it, and the phrase did the

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

Liberals good service as their motto for the campaign. In Kingston, Mr. Harty, a member of the cabinet, and a strong supporter of the School of Mining, was defeated; but the seat was declared vacant and he succeeded in the by-election which ensued. "I wish to call your attention," Grant wrote to Sir Oliver in his final letter of May 15th, 1895, "to the fact that the board, since sending that protest (on May 9th, 1894) has not had the matter before it, and this for most honourable reasons. As the general election was to be held soon afterwards, it would have been improper to press the government. The board consists of men of both political parties, and political capital might have been made out of local feeling. When the Hon. Mr. Harty was defeated, any reference to the point in dispute would have been regarded as pressure. Therefore, when you and the Hon. Mr. Ross visited Kingston last, I—though at the time acting-chairman, in consequence of the absence of the chairman from Canada—and feeling that the action of the government with regard to the school was incomprehensible—did not say one word on the matter. I felt that it should be decided on its merits and not in the slightest degree by local feeling. When the Hon. Mr. Harty was elected by a majority that guaranteed the seat, and the government was in no danger, the time had come to bring our case before the government and I therefore wrote the letter of January 31st."

PRINCIPAL GRANT

In the conclusion of his letter Grant announced his intention of retiring from the board of governors. "But, if the government is not willing to take part in what is really the legitimate development of a school which owes its origin to the government's policy, if it is not yet prepared to see in Ontario, at Kingston, a school like that of Houghton or of Freiburg, then the Kingston School of Mining can only be what our neighbours graphically term 'a one-horse affair,' subsidiary to a central department of mining in the Toronto school. I can have nothing to do with such an affair. When I accepted the principalship of Queen's, it was with the determination to make it at least equal to Toronto University, for I have no faith in second-rate universities or schools. With the aid of generous and public-spirited friends of higher education, I have succeeded, and the province is the richer for our efforts and sacrifices. I must extend the same principle of action to any school with which I am connected." Grant accordingly withdrew from the close association which he had maintained with the affairs of the School of Mining.

It was five years before the application to the government was repeated. These were years of great activity and of a prosperity that was almost dangerous, for the attendance and the demands for accommodation increased more rapidly than the income. The total attendance went up from four hundred and fifty-six in 1894, to six hundred and

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

thirty-three in 1899.¹ The heaviest increases were in the faculties of medicine and practical science. The revenue of Queen's College, which in 1899 had to provide for three hundred and thirty-seven arts students in attendance, and to direct the work of one hundred and twelve extra-murals, was forty-two thousand dollars. In that year it became absolutely necessary to procure additional buildings and equipment; Grant reported to the trustees that the only alternative was a restriction of attendance. A double campaign was set on foot. The university authorities approached the city of Kingston with a request for a direct municipal grant of fifty thousand dollars for the erection of a new arts building. Simultaneously the School of Mining asked the government for material increases to the aid enjoyed, which by this time had been increased to about ten thousand dollars a year.

Many years before an Act had been passed by the Ontario legislature, allowing municipalities to vote grants of money to Toronto University. An Act was now procured extending the privilege to other universities. The chancellor submitted to the university council a pamphlet on the subject of college accommodation, Grant addressed the city council, and the staff and graduates of the university aided with great

¹ When Grant came to Kingston, Queen's had a staff of six or eight professors, her students numbered eighty, and the university expenditure stood at sixteen thousand dollars. Twenty-five years later the staff numbered fifty, the revenue stood at seventy-eight thousand dollars, and the students exceeded eight hundred.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

zeal. A by-law voting the money was submitted to the ratepayers, and these, on October 16th, 1900, passed it by an overwhelming majority. The incident is altogether unique in the history of education in Canada. Immediately afterwards the authorities of the School of Mining, led by the Hon. William Harty, pressed upon the government of Ontario—now under the premiership of the Hon. George W. Ross—the claims of their institution. In March, 1901, the government decided to assist yet further a school which had done so well with the means so far allowed it. It granted one hundred thousand dollars for new buildings for the school, and increased the annual grant by rather more than ten thousand dollars. At the same time a grant of two hundred thousand dollars was made for the erection of an additional science building for Toronto University, and the policy of voting considerable sums in aid of the revenues of that institution was embarked upon by the provincial government.

The long-delayed expansion came. On the field which Grant had procured twenty years before were erected the new buildings of which there had been such acute need. Constructed of solid limestone, all were exceptionally well designed, and with their completion the university at last had sufficient class-room and laboratory accommodation. Simultaneously the professors of the medical faculty subscribed ten thousand dollars for the purpose of adding a third storey to their building.

QUEEN'S AND THE PROVINCE

The expansion reached its climax with the raising of money for Grant Hall. The old Convocation Hall had become inadequate; for years it had been necessary to use the municipal buildings for the more important university ceremonies. The success of the appeal to Kingston was an inducement to ask the adjacent county of Frontenac for a "bonus" of twenty thousand dollars to erect such a hall. The county had been greatly benefited by the presence of Queen's, and it was hoped that it could be induced to vote the sum. An active canvass was instituted, and though the principal himself was incapacitated by illness, professors and graduates spoke at public meetings all over the county. The farmers proved less accessible to argument than the citizens, and when the vote was polled the by-law was heavily defeated. In some of the more remote portions of the county the old-time antipathy to learning manifested itself; at one meeting the speakers presenting the university's case were asked by a ratepayer—a school trustee—whether it was not true that "education and immorality were inseparably connected." Grant had been engaged shortly before this in his hand-to-hand battle with the prohibitionists, and the friends of the university were assured by one of their canvassers that much of the active opposition to the vote was due to his action in this matter.

Many of the students attending Queen's were Frontenac men. They were greatly disappointed at

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the defeat, and, on the day following the vote, the undergraduates, led by students from the county, determined that they would raise the money. They themselves subscribed, they canvassed their friends, and soon had a respectable sum pledged. The movement spread, graduates and friends in other places took it up, and in a very short time thirty-five thousand dollars had been promised. The movement remained under the direction of the undergraduate students. They determined to name the new structure, the home and centre of the university, "Grant Hall." The principal was disposed to retain the name Frontenac Hall, which he had selected. "But, sir," with polite decision said the leader of a student deputation, "if we build the hall surely we can name it!" The incident gave him intense pleasure. He was keenly sensitive to the compliment paid him, and was even more delighted at the proof of the loyalty and self-reliance shown by the students. It was also a great relief to find that the university at last had other servants who could raise money for her necessities. "I didn't raise a cent of it," he exultantly said, with the familiar rising inflection. "Hitherto when I wanted money I had to get it myself. Now it's done for me!"

CHAPTER XIX

CANADIAN POLITICS

GRANT insisted on the right to be a publicist as well as a churchman; few things roused him to hotter resentment than the theory that clergymen should take no part in public affairs. He was the despair, however, of party men. "Grant a politician? Heaven forbid!" exclaimed an old friend, whose service to one particular organization was life-long in its faithfulness. "He had no continuity of policy; heaven only knows where he would have led a party!" His detachment from party, as well as from partisan considerations, was absolute. No other considerable public man in Canada has followed fixed principles with more complete indifference to their effect upon the fortunes of existing organizations. To men associated with the daily incidents of political management, his cool readiness to abandon the party which had ceased to further his fundamental principles, was deeply puzzling. Had he been a professed "independent" this would have been expected. But the baffling thing was that Grant, with his intense desire to effect things, instead of adopting the attitude of judicial balance usual in the independent, made himself a powerful ally of the side which he judged

PRINCIPAL GRANT

for the moment to be most likely to advance the interests which he had at heart.

Speaking broadly, he was a Conservative from confederation till 1898, and the Liberals held him in marked disfavour. In 1898 he abandoned the party to which he so long had been friendly; his condemnation of the successors to Sir John Macdonald's cabinet had a great effect, and for the rest of his life his influence told heavily on the side of the Laurier government. This summary does not fully express the peculiar footing he held in the political world. His business was to administer a university and to help to manage a church, and he had little to say with regard to the ordinary incidents of politics. In important questions he took an eager interest, and it follows that his political career is summed up in a series of incursions. The practical politician was in danger of forgetting him between crises, and, as he seldom understood the fundamental principles upon which with great consistency Grant based his action, the practical politician nearly always was surprised when the pungently-worded deliverance came from Kingston. The impression grew that the principal of Queen's was an uncertain quantity, and professed politicians of the type whose aim is to reduce public affairs to an exact practice, had little liking for the man whose habit of judging questions according to first principles was so embarrassing.¹

¹ Towards the end of Sir John Macdonald's life he and the principal met at dinner at the house of the premier's brother-in-law, Professor

CANADIAN POLITICS

Above all, his attitude was intensely individual. In 1893, suggestions were made that he enter parliament. They were sufficiently authoritative to tempt him, and for some time he was uncertain. He wrote to consult his brother in Scotland. He also consulted his friend, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer, the leader of the Afrikaner Bond in Cape Colony. Hofmeyer's advice to him was to stay out of politics, inasmuch as, once in them, he would be obliged to put up with many things which would be hateful to him. In December he wrote to his wife:—

“I am amused at your wishing me to answer straight whether I am going to run for Kingston as a McCarthyite. You ought to know me better than that. No; nor as a Laurierite nor a Thompsonite. When I run, it will be as a Grantite. Not one of the existing leaders would I dream of as my leader, for one moment. And party spirit is too strong here to accept or take any man who is not connected with one of the two parties, or with some fad, such as that of the P.P.A., or the Patrons of Industry, or the Equal Righters, and I am even less a faddist than a party man. My aim is to be one of the guides of the people; to stimulate them to inde-

Williamson. “How I wish, Principal Grant,” said Sir John, “that you would be a steady friend of mine.”

“Why, Sir John, I have always supported you when you were right.”

The premier's eye twinkled, and he laid his hand upon the shoulder of the principal:—“My dear man,” he said, “I have no use for that species of friendship.”

PRINCIPAL GRANT

pendent judgment, honour and righteousness, and I can do that work only by preserving my independence. So, there are 'the aces up my sleeve.'"

He preserved with equal care this detachment from the ordinary incidents of political life, and his right to speak when his interest was aroused. "A newspaper, usually moderate in tone and fair to opponents, accuses me of stepping outside the pale of my proper functions to air my views on public affairs," he wrote in 1898 in his "Policy for Canada" articles. "Perhaps a reason ought to be given to it and to those who sympathize with its position. 'Who are you?' said Queen Mary to John Knox, 'who presume to tell the sovereign and nobles of the realm their duty?' 'A subject, born within the same,' was the respectful and all sufficient answer. That was reason enough for any free man, for any one who feels that public affairs belong to him as one of the public. I have always tried to act on that principle, and my course was strengthened by the revelations of 1891."

Grant's first guiding principle in Canadian politics was nationalism. The present generation has entered upon an era of national unity, national pride and national spirit to which the Canada of 1870 and 1880 was a stranger. Coming from a province which was peculiarly self-contained, and which held a grudge against confederation, coming into a province, which, while ambitious, was self-centred and self-complacent, Grant held with

CANADIAN POLITICS

passionate energy to everything that would spread a national spirit through the Dominion. For local patriotism of the right sort he had full sympathy—witness his care for the interests, economic as well as educational, of eastern Ontario. National issues, however, were to him of supreme importance, and he tested every situation by its effect upon the rising unity of the larger Canada. Secondly, he was devoted to efficiency, and efficiency for him to an unusual extent meant economy. The circumstances of his up-bringing and the painful management of the affairs of Queen's combined to give him a horror of waste. He detested the Canadian senate because it not only was useless, but expensive. He never became reconciled to a cabinet of thirteen or fourteen members when he was convinced that half a dozen men could do the work. The spending of money which was a real investment he highly approved, as in the case of the Canadian Pacific bargain, and as in his advocacy of the removal of canal tolls. Throughout his public utterances runs this strong sense of economy, in the larger meaning of getting value for money spent, rather than in the mere keeping down of expenses. Back of both characteristics lay his desire that public policy should be honest, just, and in accordance with the will and purpose of God.

In May, 1894, he couched in emphatic terms his belief in the need for honest administration. He announced his determination to support the admin-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

istration of Sir Oliver Mowat in the general election which was impending. "The one point that our people everywhere must settle," he said, "is this: Can we get administrators who are determined that the commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal,' must be observed? Till that is settled, it is useless to talk about anything else. Provincial rights, school questions, tariff reform, British connection, canals, cables, railways—what is the use of discussing these if we sink into being a nation of thieves? That is what we must become if we tolerate stealing in high places, for what is done at the top is sure to permeate to the bottom. Look at the revelations that we have had since 1891—corruption in so many quarters that we wondered if there was a clean spot anywhere; the people of Quebec robbed that M. Pacaud and his friends might have the joy of exploiting what he termed a gold mine! The people of all the provinces robbed that the robbers might rule Canada!"¹

A further reason which influenced him in this election was Sir Oliver Mowat's stand for British connection, at that time fresh in the public mind. Writing to Mr. J. Castell Hopkins,² he said: "Had Sir Oliver Mowat been beaten this time, his followers would have said that it was because he had accepted knighthood, kicked out Elgin

¹ Interview in the *Globe*, May 23rd, 1894.

² Then a leader-writer on the *Empire*, the official Conservative organ.

CANADIAN POLITICS

Myers,¹ etc. We could not afford to have such a man defeated at such a time."

For several years Grant's politics were influenced by the importance which he attached to the completion and success of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The National Policy he endured rather than approved. His instinct was towards freedom of trade, and he especially desired to see encouragement given to trade with Britain. Up to 1887 he was in favour of Sir John Macdonald's government, but in that year he declared that "the National Policy has won its last victory." He invariably maintained that had the Liberals kept to their old policy of economy and a revenue tariff they would have won in 1891. It was their suicidal advocacy of commercial union which defeated them, not the strength of the National Policy.

In 1893 Grant formally abandoned the Conservative government, which he judged to have lost its power of administration. The scandals of 1891 horrified him; his references to them were frequent, and they seem to have impelled him to resolve to interest himself more in public affairs. To the revelations of dishonesty succeeded evidences of administrative paralysis. The years from 1890 to 1895 were gloomy and unsatisfactory. Canada seemed to have come to a depressing stop in her development, and the air of discouragement of the country was

¹ A Liberal office-holder who was summarily dismissed by Sir Oliver Mowat for expressing annexationist views.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

reflected in the feebleness of its government. Grant had become acquainted with Mr. J. S. Willison, the editor of the *Globe*, and acquaintance deepened into friendship. In the autumn of 1898, Mr. Willison proposed that Grant should write a series of letters on "A Policy for Canada." He consented, and in October and November of that year the letters were published. They created a great stir, partly because they were a declaration of hostility by a man who had defended the Conservative policy ever since confederation, and partly because of the force and weight of the attack.

Economy was the first plank in his policy. "First, a government that really desires the interest of Canada must, first, last, and all the time, stick to the line of husbanding instead of wasting our money. Money represents God's world, and he who wastes this world will have a poor chance of the next. Both parties would willingly put my first plank in their platform, if they were absolved from the necessity of being specific, but general professions of retrenchment and reform are worthless. Here is the cold fact, as the general manager of the Bank of Montreal puts it: 'We have been spending too much money.' National expenditure has increased steadily since confederation, out of all proportion to our increase in population or available wealth, and there is abundant proof that a great deal of the money has been worse than wasted. It is bad to throw good money away; but

CANADIAN POLITICS

when money is used, directly or indirectly, to corrupt the people from whom it is taken, it is infinitely worse." The bad management of the Intercolonial, the deficits in the post-office, and the corrupt bungling which marked the deepening of the St. Lawrence, were the three illustrations which he adduced. "Now all this is startling enough, but it is actually the fact that more has been written in the newspapers about a little addition to Rideau Hall that may never be made, than about the actual post-office annual deficit, or the Galops Channel scandal. How is it that our guardians should be so concerned about the spile and so careless about the bung? Some people are so economical that they seem to think that we cannot afford a house for our governor-general, though they have hardly a word to say about the seven or eight houses kept up for lieutenant-governors. I see no necessity for houses for our lieutenant-governors, but an absolute necessity for a good house and a good salary for the governor-general. Our connection with Britain is indispensable to our national existence, at any rate to the free development of our national life and aspirations, and the governor-general is the living link that signifies and preserves that connection. The difference between a first and second-class man means a great deal to us. It may mean actual millions. He is our only constitutional check against possible maladministration for years. An appeal to the sovereign people ought always to be in order,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and that might be needed, especially when we mend or end the senate, even though the administration was sustained by a majority of the House of Commons. A first-class statesman would know whether such an appeal should at any time be made. The consequence of misjudging would fall so severely on himself that a second-class man would never take the risk. . . . As for houses for our lieutenant-governors, a man with a salary of seven or eight thousand dollars can easily rent a house, if he has not one already in the provincial capital; and then less would be expected of him as regards that preposterous expense called 'entertaining' than social flunkydome now expects." Grant also protested against "the excessive membership and semi-membership of the cabinet," remarking that "the government of the United States is carried on with less than half our number." "Not only is the expense considerable, but the freedom of parliament is seriously weakened thereby. With us the cabinet is simply a committee of parliament. Now every one knows that committees have such power that it is almost impossible to defeat any proposal they make, and that the larger the committee the less freedom the body appointing it will have. . . . The present system of adding to the cabinet is wrong. Permanent head clerks or commissioners who do all the real work of the departments are the kind of men we ought to have, instead of fleeting and untrained partisans."

CANADIAN POLITICS

Grant's second plank was "to give the people of Canada freedom to make the most of themselves, their country, and its resources. They are deprived of that feeling on the plea that it is necessary to raise a revenue and to foster certain native industries. Of course a revenue must be raised, though, as I have shown, not quite so large a one as we have been spending." Of the oppressiveness of the Canadian tariff he spoke in vigorous terms. He criticized the policy of the opposition as still showing signs of the commercial union folly. The Conservatives, he said, advocated their old policy. "The other side advocates a tariff for revenue, with special consideration for Britain and the United States. Neither proposal seems to be quite frank, nor the best conceivable. . . . Why should Britain and the States be bracketed together, as if entitled alike to special mention and special consideration? The first is a free trade, the latter a protectionist country. Now while it is easy to increase business with a free trade country, because the matter is wholly in our own hands, and because monopolies cannot exist where competitors can come in from other countries and cut under, it is impossible to make a general treaty with a protectionist country save by discriminating against free trade countries. For professed free traders to do anything like that ought to be impossible. Again, national policy must aim at arranging the cheapest and most perfect system of exchange between our producers and their cus-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

tomers. Are the mass of those customers to be found in the United States or the United Kingdom? Clearly in the latter, for as long as the great fertile plains to the south of Canada raise more than enough for their population—and any one who has ever seen them knows that will be for a long time to come—their inhabitants must be exporters, and can be but indifferent customers. . . . Both on commercial and political grounds our policy is to encourage trade with the only country whose markets are always open to us, and always hungry, whose trade policy is steady, and in the prosperity of whose people we are most interested, because they are our fellow-subjects, and ready to stand shoulder to shoulder with us in those supreme crises which at times all nations are called on to face. This policy is in our immediate and ultimate interest. It might be put on commercial grounds solely. But it is surely none the less attractive because a proper sentiment for Britain is gratified at the same time. When it is seen to be bound up with our national aims and development it becomes imperative.

“There are, however, some people in Canada who are more American than the Americans, and whensoever a British or a Canadian policy is propounded, they assume that the proposer is hostile to the States.”

Grant concluded his third letter with a personal remark. The revelations of 1891, he said, had

CANADIAN POLITICS

strengthened his conviction that all subjects of the realm should take an interest in its affairs. Those events, he said, "made me for the first time in my life, ashamed of being a Canadian. Some of our people may have forgotten those terrible revelations. I can never forget them. We ourselves are responsible for them. Our party spirit, our selfishness, our localism, our inaction in public life, are at bottom the causes. In those summer months, when every day unearthed some new villainy, I determined to try to be truer to my country than ever before, and to speak out my convictions whenever fit opportunity was given me, calmly and strongly, no matter what the consequences might be. Should not every honest man join in this resolution? Let the issues of the past alone. Let the dead bury their dead, and with the inspiring thought of Canada first in our hearts let us go forward to make our good land one worth living for, or, if need be, worth dying for."

Grant's reference to the disclosures of 1891 adds interest to a brief correspondence, which, early in the year, passed between him and the Hon. Edward Blake. Blake had withdrawn from the leadership of the Liberal party, and had not yet gone to the imperial parliament. It is evident that even before the scandals were brought to light, Grant was troubled by misgivings as to the position of the country.

"I feel that I am scarcely warranted in writing

PRINCIPAL GRANT

you a private letter, but my feelings as a Canadian, anxious above everything else for the country, impel me. Last week I voted for the first time since the Pacific scandal for Sir John Macdonald's government, and I did so, not because I liked it, but because I disliked more the proposed new policy of the opposition. . . . Having read your paper of February 6th every day since it was published with ever-increasing admiration, I wish to ask you—will you not give us your views as to what is that future, fair and honest, dignified and serious, that we should steer for? The people may not be prepared for it, but I submit that you should indicate what we should work for. My only excuse in asking you for this is that I, like yourself, have sacrificed much for Canada. I may say that this week I refused an offer cabled to me from Edinburgh of a life position infinitely more desirable than the one I occupy. But I am a Canadian first and last, and mean to share my country's fate, whatever it is."¹

He went on to suggest that he himself should write an open letter asking Blake to give his views as to the true policy to be followed by Canada.

¹The reference is to the pastorate of Established St. Stephen's Church, Edinburgh. Several attempts were made at different periods to induce him to return to Scotland. When Norman Macleod died, there was talk of calling him to the Barony, but as one elder put it, "The Barony could never accept a colonial." Later on, when North Leith, one of the largest churches in Scotland, fell vacant, his friends started an energetic canvass, news of which came to Grant's ears, and which he promptly vetoed. Writing to Dr. Snodgrass on September 28th, 1877, he says:—"Charles writes me that I may have Partick at

CANADIAN POLITICS

Blake replied, asking that he desist from his intention, and making it clear that he was resolved to abstain from public life.

For fully a dozen years public affairs were disturbed, in Ontario especially, by a series of religious difficulties which culminated in the Manitoba Schools agitation and the downfall of the Conservative government. In these, Grant bore a gradually increasing share. In 1888 the *Marmion* controversy created a small tempest in Ontario. Archbishop Lynch, the leader of the Roman Catholics in the province, objected to the choice of Scott's poem for reading in the high schools. A rather ludicrously bitter conflict arose, and Grant scoffed at the archbishop's scruples. In an address in which he referred with humorous contempt to the uproar, he said that he had given the poem to his son, aged nine, "and the little fellow had the wickedness to like it." From 1886 to 1894 in Ontario, the other side were the aggressors. In the former year the ultra-Protestant section of the Conservatives attacked the Scripture readings prepared for the public schools and a distinctly factitious cry was raised for "the whole Bible." For this Grant had no sym-

once, if I say the word, at five hundred and seventy pounds sterling and a house. Do you know, the one temptation I had to accept it was that I could then get on the colonial committee, and keep Mr. Muir in his place. However, I overcame, by the grace of God, even that temptation." Several offers were made him by congregations in the United States, one with a salary attached of ten thousand dollars a year, but while it cost him a pang to decline the offer from Scotland, he did not for a moment listen to those from the foreigner.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

pathy, and he condemned the agitation, but took little part in the controversy. He was a member of the general committee of clergymen who were consulted by the education department, but did not belong to the sub-committee which performed the actual work of selection. As a matter of fact he disapproved of the extremes to which the Ontario government went in eliminating religious instruction from the schools.

“By Bible instruction,” he wrote in 1895, in connection with the Manitoba Schools question, “I do not mean, on the one hand, dogmatic teaching, nor, on the other hand, the mere reading of passages from Scripture without note or comment, such as we have in the public schools of Ontario. A section of the London School Board wanted the former, but they have sustained what is practically a defeat, and, as I think, a deserved defeat, at the hands of the Progressives. But the Progressives are in favour of Bible instruction, and there can be no instruction if neither questioning nor notes and comments are allowed. Children who hear verses read as a fetich, will learn nothing of the facts of the Bible, its history, geography, biographies, or its literature. They may study every literature intelligently except that which is at the root of our own best language, life and literature, and the unintelligent reading of portions of it is an effective way of teaching them that the Bible is not intended to be understood. How far this

CANADIAN POLITICS

Ontario farce of Bible instruction is responsible for neglect of Bible reading in after life I shall not venture to say. I am only concerned now with pointing out that the supposed difficulty of giving religious instruction in schools is rather theoretical than practical, so far as Protestants are concerned at any rate. Of course, when people are in a state of suspicion and irritation there is a difficulty. In those circumstances all education is conducted at a disadvantage. The moral is that there can be no greater injury done to our schools than the creation in the public mind of either suspicion or irritation."¹

Grant's method of handling public questions was admirably illustrated by his refusal to take part in the Jesuits' Estates agitation, and in the Equal Rights campaign which grew out of it, though strongly urged to do so by his friend, D. J. Macdonnell. In 1888 and 1889 Ontario was swept by a wave of angry protest against the action of the Quebec government in restoring to the Jesuits the estates confiscated in 1760. The *Mail* was active in stirring up indignation, and among the steps which it took was the urging of various public men, especially clergymen, to express their opinions on the subject. Grant was one of those asked to speak, but his reply was not encouraging to those who were trying to set the heather on fire. In a brief letter which appeared on February 18th, he explained that he was not as

¹ The *Globe*, September 5th, 1895.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

yet sufficiently acquainted with the case to express a final opinion. In any event, however, he was opposed to the nature of the protest which was being planned. "But, as far as I understand, it is proposed that a Protestant alliance with political objects, should be formed. Whether such an alliance be called Dominion, Evangelical, or Protestant, its object would be to array one corporate religious vote against another. The effect of this would be to divide the community into two hostile factions, one Roman Catholic, the other Protestant, and thus to establish in Canada a state of things that has been the curse of Ireland. All history teaches us to dread ecclesiastical interference in the political region, no matter by what high-sounding name the ecclesiastical personage, court, or body is known. . . . Action must be taken by us as citizens, not as members of this or that religious body. It is as much the interest of the Roman Catholic as of the Episcopal, Methodist or Presbyterian citizen that no political folly or injustice shall be done in Canada."

Later, in March, he wrote a longer letter. He had examined the issue with care, going to the original documents, and he pointed out that the Quebec legislature was within its rights in disposing of the property under its control, that no opposition had been offered while the bill was before the Quebec House, and that the Roman Catholic Church itself had a grievance in the giving of the

CANADIAN POLITICS

land to the Jesuit order. Of the latter body he spoke in terms of strong condemnation. "In my opinion," he wrote not long afterwards to Principal Caven, "the question of constitutionality should be decided in the courts; but behind the question of the settlement of the estates is the far deeper question of Jesuitism legalized in Canada. It will, I think, be a mistake not to recognize that many of the one hundred and eighty-eight¹ voted conscientiously. To brand them as all alike traitors and slaves to Rome would be untrue, unjust to them as well as bad policy."

When once the agitation had burned itself out, Grant's reputation for wariness stood higher on account of his refusal to ally himself with the movement. It was not wariness in reality, but his power of looking through the clamour of the moment to first principles. The demand that the Quebec legislature be over-ruled ran counter to the principles of provincial autonomy and mutual forbearance, which are numbered among the basic principles of Canadianism. Grant saw this in the midst of a very bitter and exciting agitation.²

In 1893 and 1894 the Equal Rights movement passed into a bigoted and dangerous agitation, the

¹ The reference is to the vote in the House of Commons, when interference with the action of the Quebec government was refused on a division of one hundred and eighty-eight to thirteen.

² This reserve gave great offence to many strong Protestants. Grant not long afterwards shared a seat in a train with a stranger. As they

PRINCIPAL GRANT

soul of which was the secret and oath-bound Protestant Protective Association, commonly known as the P.P.A., which was imported from the United States. For a time the attack made by this body on the Ontario government looked serious, and Grant, abandoning his reserve, spoke strongly against it. His most important deliverance was a newspaper interview.¹

"There can be no doubt that Sir Oliver Mowat stands now for the fair treatment of minorities, and that is the only way to make possible a united Canadian people. Some Protestants seem to be scared now, and they will be ashamed of themselves by and by. We Protestants used to be fearless. We used to say that truth is great and would prevail; that truth needed only a fair field and no favour; but now some of us seem afraid of the rustling of a leaf. It is fancied that one Roman Catholic in a cabinet can bind half a dozen Protestants, and that a feeble minority can deprive us of our liberties if they get their share of a number of paltry offices. The forms that this scare takes are

drew near Kingston his companion discovered that he lived in the town.

"Do you know a man there called Principal Grant?"

"I do."

"A most overrated man, in my opinion. What do the people of Kingston think of him?"

"I think the people of Kingston estimate him at his real worth."

"I'm delighted to hear that! I thought they would!"

¹ The *Globe*, May 23rd, 1894.

CANADIAN POLITICS

so extreme that it is impossible for the thing to last any time."

"Surely," he said elsewhere in this utterance, in discussing the position assumed by Mr. W. R. Meredith, the leader of the opposition, "it is clear that there can be no such thing as Conservatism in Canada, in any sense of the word, that is not based on a good understanding between our two great religious denominations. Coquetting with such an association, or even silently accepting its aid, must be fatal to him. It may be said that he is not coquetting. No, but the receiver is as bad as the thief. Such allies must have their price, and they are sure to act as a boomerang. I would like to hear from both leaders a distinct repudiation and denunciation of any organization that is based on the proscription of any class of our people on religious grounds. We need a union of all good men in Canada, and we dare not say to any man that he must abandon the religion of his mother before he can be expected to be treated as a citizen."

On another occasion Grant spoke even more bluntly on the issue: "I know nothing but that it is a secret society, and that its object is to proscribe Roman Catholics. On both grounds I can have no sympathy with it, except when it is received as a protest against a supposed solid Roman Catholic vote. . . ."¹

¹ Quoted on page fourteen of a pamphlet, "P.P.A. in Ontario," issued as campaign material by the Liberals in 1894.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

The P.P.A. agitation had barely died down when the Manitoba Schools issue plunged the whole Dominion into a dangerous turmoil. The *Globe* asked Grant to visit Manitoba and write for it a series of articles on the situation, and he accepted the commission. He went to the seat of the trouble—this was his sixth visit to Winnipeg—and spent several weeks in a careful examination of the situation. His investigations included drives through the rural districts, inspections of country school-houses, visits to Mennonite and French-Canadian half-breed settlements, and interviews with men of every type and shade of opinion. The question, delicate at best, was complicated by political considerations. Grant's own opinion was that both sides were to blame. The Manitoba government, he held, had shown great lack of consideration and statesmanship in the details of its reorganization of the public school system; the Dominion government also had gone about the task of remedying the grievance of the minority altogether in the wrong spirit. For the Roman Catholic minority he felt great sympathy, and his earlier letters were devoted to an exposition of the need for tact, for consideration, for careful adjustment of official machinery to racial or religious peculiarities, and to a trenchant exposure of the wanton roughness of the Manitoba government in over-riding the feelings of the Roman Catholic minority. Great as he considered the grievance of the minority, he opposed

CANADIAN POLITICS

federal interference. "Of course the Roman Catholics have a grievance," he wrote in a private letter, "but it is Manitoba that should remedy it." His conclusion was an argument against the effort made by the Conservative government to force Manitoba to pass remedial legislation.¹ This attitude naturally annoyed both parties, and he was sharply attacked. He left his letters to speak for themselves, and kept out of the controversy. In January, 1896, he wrote to Mr. Willison:—

"I have thought over your request that I should write an open letter giving my views as to what parliament should do with the Manitoba question, and have decided that it would not be seemly for me to do so. You are pleased to say that the public attaches some importance to my judgment. But if so, it is because I do not rush in without being called, or offer advice too frequently. On the matter in question, the people most concerned are not in a mood to listen to anything that does not suit their abstract preconceptions or their local political interests; and the people generally have had all the light on it that could be desired. If, when I went to Manitoba representing the most important organ of public opinion in Ontario, the *Tribune* and *Free Press* could only characterize my task as 'self-imposed,' what would be said of a letter volunteered now? Their characterization was pointless because untrue,

¹ The letters appeared in the *Globe* of September 5th, 12th, 18th, 21st, 25th, and 28th, 1895.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

as well as uncourteous to the *Globe*, but it would have point now, and moderate men would have a right to say, 'He has forgotten his independent position, and by repeating himself now he shows himself a partisan.' I would thus do harm and not good. It is perfectly well known that on the matter in debate Mr. Laurier and I are on the same platform, and that is enough, unless I take off my coat and go into the fight."

The election of 1896 placed the Liberals in power, and Mr. Laurier effected a settlement. Grant did not regard it as conceding enough to the minority, and in point of fact the Manitoba Roman Catholics still chafe under the conditions imposed on them. He accepted the arrangement, however, largely because of the irreconcilable attitude of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. "I do not regard Laurier's settlement as at all a happy compromise," he wrote to his son on February 21st, 1897; "but the attitude of Archbishop Langevin and his brother hot-heads in Quebec forces one to antagonize them. Supporting them means supporting a narrow and aggressive clericalism against the state."

An interesting side of Grant's public activities was his long-continued fight against the exclusion of the Chinese from Canada. As early as in the *Ocean to Ocean* journey he had shown warm interest in and liking for the patient navvies whose labours made possible the piercing of the Rockies. He resented what he considered the unfairness of

CANADIAN POLITICS

shutting out all Chinamen, whether good or bad, and in 1898-4-5, he carried on an energetic and single-handed campaign against it.

"In view of the fact," he wrote in a memorandum which he prepared on the subject, "that the immigration of the Chinese into the British colonies was at the express request and urgency of the British government, and that it was contrary to the traditions and policy of the Chinese empire, the discrimination against the Chinese is more offensive than it would be in the case of any other race. China places no such restrictions on Canadians and it has a right to demand reciprocity of treatment." He described the Canadian legislation as "un-British and anti-British," and even argued that "Canada needs sober, industrious and law-abiding people to fill its waste places and develop its resources."

"Our legislation is opposed to the principles of international comity. Every nation has a right to keep out bad people, no nation has the right to keep out the good of one nation while admitting both the bad and good from other lands. We have only to reverse the position and suppose that China admitted freely men of all countries save Canadians, to understand how offensive our restrictions are. Our legislation is contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and, seeing that we are sending missionaries to China, it is most inconsistent with the religion we profess."

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Replying to the argument that Chinese competition would degrade white labour to the Chinese level, he held, "that wherever there is any conflict between labour and capital, labour can triumph only by appealing to the principles of justice and the rights of humanity; and that its cause is lost when it refuses to recognize that God has made of one blood all nations who dwell on the face of the earth and when it draws distinctions based upon race, colour, creed, or sex."

"Our mission is to Christianize the world. What better means of doing so can there be than fair and courteous treatment of the greatest neighbouring nation? What greater force could be exerted on China than the return to it of hundreds or thousands of their own countrymen brought to Christ during their sojourn in Canada?"

He fought the battle in the press, on the platform, and in the General Assembly. The latter body he carried with him, securing a unanimous and enthusiastic vote in favour of his resolution. It was of no avail, and his struggle is of interest chiefly as an instance of the manner in which he could, when he judged the occasion worthy, go to great pains and court unpopularity for a hopeless cause.¹

¹ A curious incident in this connection was the devotion to Queen's of a well-to-do Chinese laundryman, resident in Kingston, named Hong Lee. Hong Lee was well acquainted with the students, and attended St. Andrew's Church, where the principal worshipped. In 1900 a body of students undertook to raise money to endow a post-

CANADIAN POLITICS

After Sir Wilfrid Laurier's advent to power in 1896, Grant found himself in a position commanding great practical influence. He had become a consulting publicist. His strictures upon the Conservative government had had great weight with the electors during the three critical years which had decided the fate of that administration, and his approval now was greatly valued. He was able to reach the public through the most influential channels, and the volume of journalistic work which he produced—nearly always over his own name—was considerable. All these circumstances gave him an enviable position, and to them was added his close friendship with several of the members of the ministry, including Sir Wilfrid Laurier. For the Liberal government he entertained feelings of

graduate scholarship. Some of Hong Lee's customers suggested that he contribute.

"How much does the biggest man give?" Hong Lee instantly asked, to the amazement of his interlocutors.

"Fifty dollars," said they. And forthwith the Chinaman subscribed and paid fifty dollars. The incident caused much amusement and gratification at the university. Later, Hong Lee gave one hundred dollars to the fund for Grant Hall. The principal was greatly delighted at his friend's liberality. To some one who suggested that the first gift was really an advertisement designed to secure the student trade, he replied in kind that none of the white laundrymen had seen the wisdom of making such an investment. To one who sought an explanation in Hong Lee's gratitude for Grant's championship of his race, he replied that he doubted whether the Chinaman had ever heard of that. "No," he said, "Hong Lee was actuated by the genuine Chinese love of, and reverence for learning. Queen's was an institution of learning and, like a true Chinaman, Hong Lee was ready to subscribe his hard-earned dollars to help her."

PRINCIPAL GRANT

general approval and he lent his aid to it on several occasions. His support of the Laurier administration in 1900 was strengthened by his break with Sir Charles Tupper. It was a wrench, for his friendship for Sir Charles dated from the years when he had fought behind him in Nova Scotia for confederation. In 1894, after the death of Sir John Thompson, he had given a newspaper interview strongly urging the Conservatives to select Sir Charles as leader.¹ But in 1900 the tie was finally broken.

Writing to his son in September of that year, he says: "The excitement is increasing, and will soon be at boiling point. I have given up Tupper, on account of his 'sharp curve.' Attacking Laurier in October for being anti-British, and attacking him now—in Quebec too—for being 'too English for me, with his scheme of imperial federation' is more than I—either as a Canadian or a Briton—can stand. The audacity of the thing staggers one. It is evident, too, that the internal divisions of the Conservative party are not healed. The absence from their Ontario meetings of their Ontario representatives—notably Bowell, Haggart, and Montague—proves that. I therefore hope Laurier will win, and if Tupper goes any further I may say so."

Writing in the *Queen's Quarterly* over his well-known signature "G," he criticized Sir Charles for

¹ This interview he considered the fulfilment of a resolve formed in 1863, when Sir Charles "took his political life in his hands" in advocating a provincial school system. "I'll help that man some day," had been Grant's words as he sat in the gallery of the legislature.

CANADIAN POLITICS

this action, and his utterances were much quoted. In October, in the height of the election campaign, he was asked by Mr. Willison to allow an interview to appear in the *Globe*. He refused, in the following letter:—

“ On reflection, I think it better not to interview me:—

“(1) Because my position is already known. The press is making large use of ‘G’ in *Queen’s Quarterly*.

“(2) Because there is no need. Laurier is sure of victory this time. General prosperity wins against any other general.

“(3) Because people are now in high fever, and I would turn half the friends of Queen’s into enemies. I would do that, were there need. But there is none. Even to-day, in Kingston, people are voting against giving anything to Queen’s, because the *Globe* quotes me in black letter as on Laurier’s side. Two *gentlemen* had the cheek to tell me so yesterday.

“(4) Because I can do more when people are cooler.

“(5) Because, in an interview, I have to say things against as well as for the administration.

“(6) Because what it would be right for me to do were I running an election and so in a position to receive as well as to give blows, is hardly right for me to do while I occupy what might be called ‘Coward’s Castle.’ The Conservatives know that

PRINCIPAL GRANT

they couldn't answer me openly without turning Queen's men against them. To strike into the thick of the fight at such a moment they would feel to be ungenerous and unfair.

"You will probably not agree with me, but I have tried to make up my mind judicially, and with all my sympathies forcing me to an attitude of 'friendly neutrality.'"

During the negotiations of the Joint High Commission in 1899, he was in close communication with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and his letters show his view on several important Canadian questions of the time. "The policy demanded at present," he wrote on February 25th, "is one which shall neither by word nor act indicate a wish even to retaliate. That, however, is merely a negative, and governments live only by positive policies. Now is the time to arouse fresh enthusiasm in Canada and Britain by forcing the hand of the British government on the Pacific cable. Make us the half-way house of the empire. It will be a grand *coup*, and while increasing our apparent obligations, will really cost nothing.

"Secondly, back the colonial office strongly in its Newfoundland policy. *Insist* on a consul at St. Pierre, and offer to share in the compensation to be paid the French fishermen for relinquishing the decaying business on the treaty shore.

"And lastly, transportation is our great Canadian problem. Proper equipment at Montreal and

CANADIAN POLITICS

Quebec and the abolition of our canal tolls are the first things needed in my opinion, and not a fast passenger service costing three quarters of a million."

"It seems to me," he wrote on March 4th, "that you did everything that could have been expected, and that you did well in calling a halt when political influence forced the American commissioners to go back on their own offer. The boundary is a question to be settled by experts, and the sooner they get at it the better. Even American politicians must accept the decisions of experts.

"I am delighted that you agree with me in the main on the three points I feel strongly on. As to compensation to France, all that I mean is that it would pay us in revenue returns to have the matter settled, and that an offer from us would force a settlement. I hope that you will insist on having a British (preferably a Canadian) consul at St. Pierre."

In his dealings with the many prominent men with whom he was brought into close relations, Grant was scrupulous to abstain from asking personal favours, either for himself or for his friends. It was his rule not to accept railway passes, except on certain occasions when a journey was undertaken in the interests of the railway. "It is a fixed principle with me," he wrote in 1895 to a friend who had asked his influence with reference to an appointment in the gift of the On-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

tario government, "not to ask any government for any favour or consideration. It is the only way in which I can preserve my independence. When I say anything for or against a government, I do so on public grounds, and it would be impossible to base any appeal for friends on it." A small incident which illustrates his methods took place in 1897. The Hon. A. S. Hardy, then premier of Ontario, in a speech at Owen Sound, dropped an unfortunately worded remark about "cold justice," which seemed to hint that the constituency would be rewarded by grants to public works for a by-election favourable to the government. Grant wrote privately to Hardy, censuring him, and the premier replied, explaining away the utterance, and evidently at once stung by the rebuke and gratified at Grant's frankness.

In 1899 Grant was describing transportation as Canada's greatest problem. In 1898 the chief issue for him had been economy and honest administration. The shifting of his view shows the rapidity of the growth of the country in the last few years of the century. The transportation issue occupied his attention closely for the last decade of his life. The binding together of Canada by an intelligent use of her water routes and railway lines came to hold for him the same importance that the actual building of the pioneer line had assumed fifteen years before. He took great pains to ascertain the facts. He studied carefully the conditions under which the In-

CANADIAN POLITICS

tercolonial worked, procured Halifax and St. John views on ocean transportation, used his friendship with Sir William Van Horne to get figures as to the Canadian Pacific trade over the "short line," corresponded with Mr. E. W. Rathbun, a prominent manufacturer and lumberman, and exchanged views at length with Mr. James B. Campbell, an incisive and industrious pamphleteer on the subject. His interest was due largely to Mr. Rathbun, who urged him to master and write upon the subject. In the years succeeding 1897 a feeling had grown up in Canada that in the transportation question she must find the key to national greatness on the material side. In awakening that conviction Grant bore his full share. In part he made his views known through the *Globe*, in part through the *Montreal Star*. His later attitude towards the Canadian Pacific has already been noted. He urged the completion of the St. Lawrence canal system at the earliest possible moment, and was severe on the impolicy of allowing a stretch of shallow canals in the middle of the system to render useless the deeper reaches at the ends. For years he advocated freeing the canals from all tolls, a policy which was adopted with striking success after his death. In the fast Atlantic line he was deeply interested. He steadily advised the abandonment of all efforts to make the St. Lawrence the route. "The failures of the Huddarts and of Petersen are the final proofs that a fast Atlantic line to Montreal is a practical

PRINCIPAL GRANT

impossibility," he wrote in July, 1898. "The St. Lawrence is the route for freight, not for passengers who desire speed, *i.e.*, for three-fourths of the passengers at the least. We must abandon the idea of a fast line or get an Atlantic terminus." As between St. John and Halifax he favoured the latter. In 1898 he was greatly impressed by the proof that Sydney could be used as a winter port, and also by the building of the Reid Railway across Newfoundland and the placing of an ocean ferry to ply between Sydney and the western terminus of that railway. In a series of letters which he wrote upon Newfoundland in 1898, he set forth the advantages of making that island the western landing-place of a fast line which would reduce the ocean passage to four days. In the same connection he urged the incorporation of Newfoundland in the Canadian confederation.

The relations between capital and labour engaged Grant's interest and sympathy. He frequently adverted to the topic and on several occasions came into contact with labour organizations in regard to subjects in which they were interested. His opposition to the single tax movement—he took the platform against Mr. Henry George at one of his visits to Kingston—angered some labour men. So did his views on Chinese immigration. In 1892, however, at the Pan-Presbyterian Council he delivered an address on the relations of capital and labour which was given wide currency by labour

CANADIAN POLITICS

journals and evoked much favourable comment from them. In profit-sharing he saw the way out of present difficulties. No striking controversy, however, drew public attention to this avocation, and the general public scarcely recognized how great was his interest or how wide his information on this subject. .

The last controversy in which Grant took a prominent part was with regard to the prohibition of the liquor traffic. In common with other provinces in Canada, Ontario long had been the theatre of an energetic agitation for the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic. The propaganda gained ground at the expense of the older forms of temperance endeavour which aimed at influencing the individual user of intoxicants, and finally nearly all the organized sentiment of the community in favour of total abstinence was concentrated in the demand for legal action. The campaign gained in activity and in cohesion. The senior organizations were supplemented by societies which aimed at political action. Many of the churches lent their aid, led by the Methodist Church, the most effectively organized Protestant body in Canada. Experiments in local option in counties proved disappointing, and the prohibitionists bent their forces to the attainment of a wide measure of suppression, if possible national, at least provincial. They experienced the usual fate of exponents of moral ideas who enter the political field. They

PRINCIPAL GRANT

made great progress in everything but results. Scarcely a politician could be found to say a harsh word of them, and scarcely a politician could be found to render them an effective favour. The electorate treated them in the same way. The voters showed a remarkable reluctance to cast their ballots against them so long as the question was academic, and steadily refused to pay any heed to their appeals the moment a political issue was involved. They found themselves in the exasperating position of registering enormous majorities in plebiscite and referendum, of being baffled by members of parliament and legislature, and of being unable to punish at the polls the representatives who flouted them.

This naturally exasperated such ardent advocates. Their temper was rendered the worse by the fact that for years their case had won by default so far as argument was concerned. Few cared to speak or write against total abstinence or against legislative suppression of the traffic. The liquor trade fought the propaganda in its own manner, and thereby made it the harder for reputable men to enter the lists against the proposal. In the last decade of the nineteenth century controversy on the subject had almost ceased. Lack of opposition on the platform and in the press had its usual effect, and the tone of prohibitionists' arguments steadily grew intolerant. To them, to oppose their ideal was to resist moral reform, and they could explain it only on the ground of unworthy and interested motives. By

CANADIAN POLITICS

1898, when the Dominion plebiscite on the subject was taken, the prohibitionist campaigning was marked by an uneasy arrogance. The leaders were active, the organization was excellent, the only doubt was whether the movement could command an effective rank and file.

All through his life Grant's attitude towards this question was consistent. He always upheld temperance, and he always opposed steps to impose abstinence by external compulsion. Some of his most effective work in his Halifax pastorate had been in inducing victims of drink to become total abstainers. He disagreed with the great body of active temperance workers on two main issues. He would not admit that the drink evil possessed the relative importance which they attributed to it. Lack of faith, lack of courage, lack of reverence, to him were the root sins, were the cause; intoxication and other overt sins were symptoms. Even among the grosser sins he ranked the excessive use of liquor as inferior in destructive power to at least one other evil. He placed a higher value on purity of life than on abstention from liquor. "Not drink but dirt is the greatest evil in Canada to-day." In 1898 he told the General Assembly that political corruption was a greater injury to Canada than drunkenness. Further, he disbelieved absolutely in the efficacy as well as in the righteousness of attempts to compel men to be sober. Apart from the ethical questions involved in such short-cuts to

PRINCIPAL GRANT

virtue, he was of opinion that the amount of harmful drinking would not be decreased by prohibition, and that such evils as hypocrisy, evasion or defiance of law, and perjury would accompany it.

Many men held similar views. Grant took the field and advocated them publicly. He was profoundly impressed by the hollowness of the situation. It was his conviction that the strength of the prohibitionist movement was factitious, and that its apparent voting strength was due to the lack of argument which led to a general begging of the question. Further, the whole treatment of the subject by politicians and the mass of the people was marked by a profound dishonesty more dangerous than intemperance. Accordingly, when in 1897 the Dominion government announced that a plebiscite on the subject would be taken over the Dominion, he resolved to speak out as a representative of the great mass who hated intemperance but refused to believe that prohibition was justifiable or likely to promote sobriety. The fight upon which he entered was by far the most disagreeable of his later years, probably of his life. He entered upon it knowing what to expect. He was single-handed, for though thousands agreed with his arguments and were glad that he made the stand, few came to his aid. In July he wrote to a friend of "having done my duty in the matter, and having seen others—from whom better things might have been expected, in the state and in the church—shirk theirs." Every ma-

CANADIAN POLITICS

terial interest counselled silence. Apart from the intense unpleasantness of a fight in which, to mention but one instance, the body of the ministers of his church opposed him, was the fact that his action was almost certain to hurt his university. Almost all his closer personal friends besought him to abstain from so thankless a task. The majority of the trustees of Queen's were averse to his action. He felt, however, that the occasion called.

The actual volume of his anti-prohibition fight in 1897-8 is small. It is comprised in three letters to the *Globe*,¹ a public debate,² and a speech in the General Assembly of 1898. Yet they created an immense sensation. He for years had been known to be opposed to prohibition and in 1895 he had advocated the adoption of the Gothenburg system, but his boldness had a great effect, while his arguments, coming from a source so far removed from suspicion of interest, proved exceedingly effective. In the main, these letters were confined to a destructive analysis of the prohibitionists' plan of affording relief from the drink evil. He put his case succinctly in his debate with the Rev. Dr. Lucas. He complained of misrepresentation. "If, for instance, a drunkard is seen on the streets of Kingston, the remark of one paper is, 'Ah, if Principal Grant saw that, he would change his view on

¹ These appeared on December 9th, 11th and 18th, 1897.

² See the *Globe* and *Kingston News and Whig* of January 28th and 29th, 1898.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

prohibition.' Now, how are its readers to know that my view is that if we had prohibition, there would be two drunkards on the street instead of one? And half a dozen perjurers and hypocrites for every one we now have? Believing that, am I not bound to warn my friends that their proposed short-cut may not cure, but aggravate the disease? It is because I look with horror on the sin of intemperance and have fought against it with some success all my life, that I dread a proposal which, if enacted into law, will do more to throw back the cause of temperance and corrupt the country, than any legislation that has ever yet been passed in Canada."

The prohibition party were intensely exasperated at his attack. They had been unopposed so long that antagonism seemed little short of blasphemy. For weeks the press was filled with letters replying to or attacking Grant. Some confined themselves to traversing his arguments. Many were insulting. The wing of the prohibitionists which was disposed to abuse was led by the Rev. Dr. Carman, who, as general superintendent of the Methodist Church, was the official head of that powerful ecclesiastical body. Dr. Carman's reply was couched in violent terms; one line of attack which he adopted was to endeavour to injure Queen's by practically calling upon temperance people to refuse to send their sons to a university presided over by an anti-prohibitionist. Some of his phrases may be quoted as typical of much that was written and said during

CANADIAN POLITICS

the controversy. "But take out the university and the principalship and what have you left? The weight of argument in this case is the seat from which it is uttered. . . . Looking through the lens at an insect's foot you may well be terrified. It is often necessary to get around behind the magnifying glass to dismiss your horrors and terrors and come to the balance of your understanding." Further on he wrote: "If, perchance, a wealthy distiller or brewer were making subscription or endowment he would know where to put it; not likely on the majestic personality! And if a mother were asking where to send her son to college, she ought to know as well." In private correspondence Grant briefly described Carman's letters as "melancholy," and he took no notice of them.

The Rev. Dr. Lucas, a Methodist minister, who for years had made his living by lecturing for prohibition, promptly challenged Grant to a joint debate, and the challenge was accepted. Lucas was a professional platform speaker, and a powerful rhetorician. The meeting of the two men was looked forward to with great interest by the general community as well as by the persons especially interested in the subject. The debate took place on two consecutive evenings. It was held in the Kingston city hall, which, despite the waning interest in public speaking, was crowded. It was a remarkable duel, Lucas speaking forcibly and Grant making one of his most brilliant fights. One characteristic

PRINCIPAL GRANT

stroke was his couching of a solid argument in a jest. Lucas had argued that the imposition of a license was an admission of a right to prohibit, that in fact it was a prohibition of selling by all but the licensee. Why not prohibit the five hundredth man as well as the four hundred and ninety-nine? How about marriage licenses? asked Grant, and with the roar of laughter Lucas's argument ceased to weigh with the audience. The prohibitionists were reluctant to confess defeat, but the general feeling was that Grant had decisively worsted his antagonist.

The effect of the debate was remarkable. Throughout the plebiscite campaign of 1898, of which this affair was an episode, the prohibitionists confidently assumed that their cause was the only one which could be espoused by an upright man. In the subsequent referendum campaign of 1902 a marked change was noticeable, a moderation of this intolerant begging of the question. For no small portion, if not for all of this change of tone, credit must be given to Grant. He had beaten their champion in open debate and had broken their record of oratorical victories. Moreover, he had proved to the country that a man of intellect, disinterestedness, and moral fervour could be opposed to attempts to induce sobriety by legislation.

This probably accounts for the venomous intensity with which the baser sort of the prohibitionists assailed him. Carman's suggestion that he was looking to liquor men for subscriptions to Queen's was

CANADIAN POLITICS

a sample of the attacks made. One letter expressed the hope that his dying hours would be cursed by the shrieks of those who through his agency had filled drunkards' graves. Others accused him of personal fondness for liquor. Slanderous stories were circulated by word of mouth. Three years afterwards Frontenac ratepayers were urged to vote against the proposal to give money to Queen's because of Grant's attitude on this question.

Writing to Mr. J. S. Willison in April, 1898, while this abuse was at its height, Grant gave his opinion of the movement. "In my opinion the strength of the feeling in favour of prohibition is over-estimated. It is largely fictitious and feverish. Of course, it is organized, and the forces opposed to the proposal are not and cannot be organized, though in the event of a law being passed they would show themselves in a most lively way, to the utter destruction in the first place of the government responsible for the law, and, in the second place, of much else that all parties esteem valuable."

Later, in July, in a letter to the same friend, he said: "It has been a puzzle to me that no attempt at organization has been made, save on the side of blind emotion, in connection with a proposal so momentous as that of national prohibition of a trade hitherto legitimate in Canada, and established in every country in Christendom. On the one side is a long standing organization with paid officials,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

speakers and writers, and with every temperance lodge and Methodist Church a committee room. On the other side no attempt at organization, save by the trade itself. That gives the appearance of public interest on the one side, and admittedly class and selfish interests on the other. Hence the one side has organization, and, apparently, the cause of morality at its back. The other side has merely an unpopular trade and unorganized individuals. How can there be anything but a majority of the vote polled for prohibition? Yet that majority, though it will give emotion an immense leverage against the government which does not obey it, represents almost entirely manufactured rather than rational sentiment.

“What makes this worse is that in great part the cause of the apathy is party spirit. The Conservatives are determined that the Grits shall reap as they sowed. The Grits dread antagonizing the temperance vote, though they ought to know that it is a good deal of a bogie. And so no effort is made to save the country from a rash experiment on society, one that will bring about evils tenfold worse than open drunkenness, especially in the direction of contempt for law.”

Active participation in this fight came to an end for Grant with the debate in the Assembly. That body passed a resolution approving of prohibition after a speech from Grant which ranks as one of his best. His own version of the matter

CANADIAN POLITICS

was given to Mr. Willison: "I ought to tell you a little about the temperance debate in the General Assembly. For various reasons (one being that numbers have no faith in prohibition, but are as unwilling as the *Globe* to say so) not more than a third of the members were present, or about one hundred and ten to one hundred and thirty. Of these, twenty-four, by the clerk's counting, voted with me. The strongest men in the church did not vote. I am more than ever persuaded that much of the apparent strength of the prohibition movement is fictitious, though some are willing to have the experiment tried (at other people's expense and the expense of the country), and more are desirous of putting the government into a hole. This latter class kept quiet in the Assembly, though in previous years they spoke strongly against the preposterous fad. The strength of the prohibitionists is in their organization, especially the lodges and Methodist Churches, while there is no organization on the other side, and multitudes of the weak are morally terrified."

The Dominion plebiscite campaign resulted in majorities for prohibition being registered in the English-speaking provinces, but Quebec declared against it so decisively that it was seen that a national measure was impossible. The prohibitionists turned to the provincial field, and after some delays secured a judgment of the privy council declaring a considerable measure of prohibition to be within

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the powers of the local legislatures. The result of much agitation was that the Ontario legislature passed a stringent prohibitory Act, but made its enforcement dependent upon the result of a further popular vote, of the nature of a referendum. This took place in 1902, the vote being taken in December. In February and March, Grant contributed to the *Globe* a series of five letters on the subject.¹ These he intended to set forth his constructive policy on the liquor question. His letters of 1898 had been controversial, and had broken the weight of the argument that there existed only one means of relief from the evils of drunkenness. He now recapitulated his earlier arguments, and went on to suggest a better way of handling the problem. The present license system he regarded as utterly crude, and as embodying specific dangers, chief among which he ranked the fact that it makes it the interest of the license holders to increase the amount of drinking. The "company system" of control he regarded as avoiding nearly all the objections inherent in the license system, and the Gothenburg or Scandinavian system he looked upon as better still. For the adoption of the latter he argued with all his force.

The result of the campaign he did not live to see. In its later stages, while the more bitter-minded of the prohibitionists attacked him with all the scurrility of 1898, the most prominent supporters of the

¹ The dates were February 4th, 8th, 12th, 21st, and March 1st.

CANADIAN POLITICS

measure concentrated their attack upon the present licensing system, minimized the prohibitory features of the legislation demanded, and spoke favourably of municipal control of the traffic. The result of this more moderate policy was a large vote in their favour, though, under the terms of the referendum, insufficient to bring into operation the measure which had been passed.

CHAPTER XX

IMPERIALISM

CONFEDERATION did not make Canada a nation, but it gave her the possibility of becoming one. Slowly the consciousness of a common heritage and of a common destiny began to thrill through the widely separated members. Along what lines that destiny lay was not at first clear. Gradually three alternatives shaped themselves. Our position as at once a self-governing Dominion, and a dependency of Britain was clearly illogical. Was it possible to build up an independent and self-controlled Canada; was our union with Britain to become closer and more clearly defined; or were we to cast in our lot with the great republic whose shadow lay along our southern border?

The idea of independence was soon recognized as visionary. In Ontario it was advocated by some of the later adherents of the "Canada First" party; in Quebec the idea of "a Canadian republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence" is still cherished by a few; but the sober sense of the Canadian people felt that to discuss independence in such close proximity to the United States would be what Grant described as "fancy politics."

Of the other alternatives, Grant fervently advo-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

cated that of closer union with Britain. His sense of historical continuity triumphed over the dictates of geography. Not that he considered such a closer union incompatible with independence. Nationality he considered "an ultimate God-ordained fact." "Some men, and all cattle, lack patriotism," he said once. He stood for the fullest and most complete national independence, with the responsibilities and dangers therein implied; not for sterile isolation, but for partnership in the councils of the great group of free nations who boast of a common sovereign, a common flag, and a common language. Of the different roots from which sprang his devotion to the empire, the deepest was his sense of the necessity of continuity in national life and development. "Every nation," he said, "must make or rather work out its own constitution in the course of its history. Its constitution is not a coat to be thrown aside for a neighbour's, but the very body which the inner life has gathered around it from the past and the present. This outward form can be slowly changed by development to meet the changing environment and the growth of ideas, but it cannot be exchanged for another by revolution without grievous—perhaps irreparable—hurt to the nation's life."¹

Most of the great problems which beset the United States he traced to her violent severance of that continuity. He fully sympathized with Car-

¹ "Canada and the Canadian Question; A Review."

IMPERIALISM

lyle's reference to "the many traditions and mementos of priceless things which America has cast away." His imagination was fired by the splendour and the glow of English history, by the thought of the succession of warriors, statesmen, poets and philosophers, who have won and vindicated her power and her freedom. "If Whittier," he said, "can boast 'We too are heirs of Runnymede,' how much more fully can we, sundered by no wars, severed by no deep-seated prejudice or misunderstanding?" His mind was even more full of the glories of Scottish song and story; no other of his speeches breathes so impassioned a rhetoric as that delivered in 1878 before the North British Society of Halifax, on "Our Scottish Nationality." But his desire to draw closer the bonds of empire was based, not on love for the past, nor on an abstract political theory, but on a firm conviction that the national ideals of Britain, social, political and religious, were higher and purer than those of the United States, and that in her statesmen were to be found the highest examples of political justice and integrity.

To the faults of England and of the English he was not blind. He saw the superciliousness of the British globe-trotter, the ignorance of the colonies, and the contempt for their interests shown by many British statesmen. He well knew that, thanks to British diplomats, Canada had been "sorely despoiled in the east, the centre, and the west by treaties," and he

PRINCIPAL GRANT

bitterly assailed, in public and in private, the self-complacent insularity which had traced the boundary of Maine, and given up our rightful claims on the Pacific. Nor did he share in the wide-spread Canadian distrust of American men and methods. For the great republic his love grew with his years. He passed from the youthful impetuosity which could write to his brother, "Their men, methods, and manners are alike detestable," to an increasing admiration for the energy, the versatility, and the resourceful daring which has, in less than a century, spread order and civilization from the Alleghanies to the Pacific. "It is a great country," he wrote in 1898, "endowed by God with every conceivable kind of resource, and, as regards the people, it is enough to say that they are substantially of the same stock as ourselves."

But to court re-union with the United States at the cost of severance from Britain, he considered to be a folly which would destroy the continuity and therewith the highest ideals and hopes of our political life. "Respect them, admire them, imitate them, like them, look forward to a re-union in the future of the English-speaking race—that is all right. But just as they are not going to break up their own union in order to bring about any theoretic reunion, so neither are we. To break up our own empire in order to demonstrate our affection for another, or in order to gain some fancied commercial advantage, may be

IMPERIALISM

wisdom to parish politicians, but it is not the kind of wisdom that self-respecting people will ever endorse. Canadians must preserve their self-respect jealously, just because their neighbours—on account of their own bigness—are wonderfully ignorant of Canada, and just a little apt to regard it as the rich are apt to regard the poor. Further overtures from us are a waste of time, energy, dignity and money, and they simply delay the coming of an era of improved commercial relations. . . . I look forward to a happy re-union of our race with as much longing as Dr. Goldwin Smith, but to begin it with a second disruption is out of the question, and premature attempts from our side will defeat or delay the object we have at heart."

These wider questions did not at first demand much attention. The attitude of Nova Scotia, the rebellion in Manitoba, the entrance into confederation of British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, absorbed our first years; to these succeeded problems of trade and transportation; but when the birth-throes of the new Dominion had been overcome, our political relations to the outside world forced themselves into prominence. In 1885 two opposite tendencies began to take shape and form. In May of that year the first branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada was organized in Montreal; Grant was one of the chief speakers, and for several years, in the face of many disappointments, did all that he could to found new branches,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and to create enthusiasm. The progress of the idea was at first slow; not till 1888 was a branch founded in Toronto; and the members of the society were forced to undergo not a little ridicule. Grant delivered numerous addresses in the different provinces; his tour of the world deepened his love for the principles embodied in the new organization; and largely through his efforts the idea of Canada as an independent partner of Great Britain passed from the stage of ridicule into that of serious consideration.¹

About the time of the foundation of the first branch of the Imperial Federation League in Canada, an active campaign was begun in favour of closer union with the United States. Promising more immediate practical advantages, this policy came rapidly to the front, and had been adopted as the platform of a great political party at a time when imperial federation was popularly considered "a fad" and its supporters "a lawn tennis party." The annexation of Canada to the republic, and its partition into states and territories under the American flag, though the goal to which many secretly looked forward, was too unpopular to be openly advocated by responsible politicians; the object put forward as aimed at was the attainment of freer trade relations. Canadians still remembered the misery caused by the abrogation in 1866 by the

¹ For a fuller treatment of this subject, see "An Encyclopedia of Canada," by J. Castell Hopkins, vol. VI.

IMPERIALISM

United States of the Reciprocity Treaty negotiated by Lord Elgin in 1854. "What that meant the writer knows from personal knowledge of at least one district. Hundreds of people had to live on bread and water, and to go in debt for the bread."¹

The seventies were a period of widespread commercial depression, and Canada was ruthlessly exploited by the United States manufacturers as a slaughter market for their surplus products. The National Policy of protection, introduced by Sir John Macdonald in 1878, brought about a measure of somewhat factitious prosperity, but the home market was so limited that the Canadian farmer made repeated efforts to gain entrance into a wider field. A large trade with Britain was gradually built up, and has increased with improvements in transportation and in methods of packing and storage; but "the nearest market as a rule is the best," and for entrance to that of the United States the Canadian farmer was willing to pay high. The modified reciprocity of 1854 in products of the farm, forest, fisheries and mine was unattainable, and a campaign was begun in favour of Unrestricted Reciprocity, often spoken of under the name of Commercial Union. With this a number of leading men in Canada and in the United States identified themselves, the most prominent being, perhaps, Professor Goldwin Smith and Mr. Erastus Wiman,

¹ "Canada and the Canadian Question : A Review."

PRINCIPAL GRANT

an expatriated Canadian who had won for himself a position in the American commercial world. Commercial Union involved so directly discrimination against Great Britain, and the dictation of our tariff by the dominant partner, that it was more or less discarded in favour of the more attractive title of Unrestricted Reciprocity.

The Liberal party, defeated at the polls in 1887, caught at the glitter of the new idea. In 1891 came the general election. In spite of the promises of commercial development and prosperity made by the Liberals to both manufacturer and farmer, the Conservatives were victorious. "A British subject I was born, a British subject I will die," was the battle-cry given them by a leader of consummate skill; the Liberals were hampered by the presence in their ranks of a section which almost avowedly regarded Commercial Union as a stepping-stone to annexation; the Conservatives found that the rashness of their opponents had enabled them to identify the National Policy with the cause of British connection, and on a platform of "the old flag, the old leader, and the old policy," were returned to power with a majority of thirty in a House of two hundred and fifteen.

Grant was not a fervent admirer of Sir John Macdonald, whom he regarded as responsible for much of the corruption which had eaten deep into our political life; but in this campaign he stood firmly by his side. Commercial Union he regarded

IMPERIALISM

as making inevitable political union, as a dishonest and discreditable attempt to bring in from the side what could not openly be avowed. During the course of the campaign, Mr. Erastus Wiman visited Kingston, and delivered an address presenting with much force the material advantages of the proposed policy. It fell to Grant to reply. Rising to his feet, his voice quivering with emotion, he began: "For the woman who sells herself to buy her children bread, there may be a plea; but what shall we say of the nation which prostitutes its honour for material gain?" To him this was not a question of dollars and cents, however great their importance. Though we had come through the fire of hostile tariffs, and gradually built up for ourselves a market at home and in Britain, he considered that union with the United States would be to our immediate commercial advantage; but to him it was a question of retaining a high and pure ideal, of keeping intact our national honour and self-respect, of preserving or of forfeiting continuity in our historical, our sentimental, and our moral development.

An episode which somewhat marred his triumph was the beginning of a very acute quarrel with one whom to the last he greatly respected and admired. The foremost Canadian champion of Commercial Union was Professor Goldwin Smith. Subsequent to the election appeared *Canada and the Canadian Question*, which Grant regarded as "so brilliant, so inaccurate, so malicious even, that it is enough to

PRINCIPAL GRANT

make one weep." The relations of the two men had long been friendly. Grant felt honoured that so distinguished a writer and historian had chosen to reside in Canada; the zeal for righteousness and for social and civic purity of the older man moved his admiration; on many important questions they thought alike; and he was moved to sympathetic indignation by the coarse and ill-bred attacks frequently made upon the sensitive Oxonian. But their temperaments were essentially diverse, and even before 1891 a coolness had sprung up. *Canada and the Canadian Question* seemed to Grant so dangerous that he reviewed it in the *Week* with great force and asperity. The review was reprinted by the Imperial Federation League, and was widely circulated. Short though it is, Grant bestowed on it more labour than on any other of his political writings, feeling that he was defending—and defending against a worthy foeman—the national ideal and the national honour. The personal friendship of the two men remained, outwardly at least, unbroken, and stood the strain even of "The Policy for Canada" articles in 1893. In 1896 came the open rupture. In July of that year Grant wrote for the *National Review* an article on "Canada and the Empire," which was in part devoted to an analysis of the political ideals of Goldwin Smith, and of the mental characteristics which had assisted him in arriving at them. Mr. Smith resented the article, and his reply in the *Canadian Magazine* for Octo-

IMPERIALISM

ber, and a private letter written at the same time to Grant, effectively severed relations already strained. The incident closed with a rejoinder from Grant in the *Canadian Magazine*, largely consisting of a reprint of his article in the *National Review*.

The advocates of closer union with Britain, of the gradual evolution of Canadian independence within the empire, not having any definite plan to propose, found their idea a plant of slower growth. Practical politicians who regard as beyond their horizon any idea which cannot be brought to completion within the year, denounced its advocates as visionary. To their repeated demand for "a scheme," Grant always replied: "We are not schemers." He felt strongly that no general plan could be laid on us from above, that a nation was not a fluid mass to be run into a mould, but that we must operate along the lines which have characterized the history of Britain, and slowly evolve a general plan, suitable to our history and to our instincts. "If you ask me for my scheme," he said in Winnipeg on September 18th, 1889, "I could draw up one or half a dozen, each more excellent than the other, but why should I do your work? Come and help me. Two heads are wiser than one. You would have some reason to complain if I elaborated a plan, and then asked you to swallow it. Besides, when the time comes, the weakest of us could draw up a better plan than he could now. Events are wiser than men.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

"If you still press me for an answer I say that I am a Canadian, and that I am willing to wait the time of the Canadian people and keep step with them. Admittedly, the question is not yet one for the mere hand-to-mouth politician. Its importance may not be immediate. It may be for to-morrow rather than for to-day. But, should not the statesman think of to-morrow? Should not wise men look ahead? It may take us a long time to get to a goal, but ought we not to know how to face, and be sure we are facing in the right direction? When building a nation, we think not of the pockets of this or that man, or the immediate convenience of this or that locality. We build for the ages."

His quarrel with Goldwin Smith had been partly due to his dislike for the doctrinaire advocating general preconceptions to which the life of the country must be made to conform. He dreaded in political matters statesmen of the type of the Abbé Sieyès, with his desk full of suitable constitutions, each in its respective pigeon-hole. The removal of one obstacle after another, the gradual strengthening of the existing links, and the slow forging of new, would in the end clothe his great idea in the concrete form which would do no violence to the national instincts and susceptibilities.

In the early days of the movement he was strongly attracted by the idea of inter-imperial preferential trade. All his instincts were towards freedom, and he dreamed of a zollverein of the various nations

IMPERIALISM

and colonies under the British flag. But the difficulties which lay in the path of imperial free trade could not be minimized, and in the *Westminster Review* for October, 1891,¹ he suggested that a preliminary step might be taken by adopting a policy of inter-imperial preference, the colonies admitting British goods under a minimum tariff, and the mother country laying a small tax upon the chief imports of all extra-imperial countries. The same idea he advocated in several speeches about this time, notably in one before the Halifax Board of Trade on the occasion of the visit of Colonel Howard Vincent, M.P.

A further study of the economic situation in Britain led him in later years to recede from this position. Writing on May 29th, 1900, to Dr. G. R. Parkin, he says: "I believe that it would be more sensible to undertake the building of a railway from the earth to the moon than to undertake the conversion of the British public to the abandonment of their free trade position for any lower consideration than practical free trade within the empire. I regard what is called the 'Fielding Policy' as the only possible way of ever getting there, and it is melancholy to see a man like —— abandoning his imperialism for partyism. I need not argue this point with you. I have said a little on it in 'Current Events' of the last *Queen's Quarterly*.

"Have you got your fifty thousand dollars yet?

¹ In a review of "The New Empire," by Mr. O. A. Howland, C.M.G.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

That is infinitely more important than the trade discussions will be, for the one is practical and the other is not, though John Bull will listen with his usual patience to everything. Poor old chap! He is so inarticulate himself, but he is no fool, and will not wreck the greatest commercial fabric the world has ever seen for nothing."

Even the plan of a common consultative council he regarded as premature.

To Colonel G. T. Denison, January 2nd, 1901.—

"Before a common consultative council of the empire, with power to act, can or ought to be established, a good many preparatory steps should, in my judgment, be taken. At least a century is required for these. In the meantime we have the Queen's privy council in Britain, Canada, Australia, etc., and no step is ever taken without interchanges of sentiment between these. These interchanges are becoming more and more frequent. The cable is used more than some of us think.

"What is needed most of all now is a common agreement as to the principles upon which the war power of the empire should be so organized that in case of need the whole could be used with effect. A royal commission should be appointed to deal with this in the first instance. But something more than a report is needed. Every part of the empire should begin by doing its own work. Canada should not only take over the defence of Halifax and Esquimaux (if she has artillery and engineers—has

IMPERIALISM

she?) but see to the defence of St. John and other important points. We have not even a naval reserve. For all this we need a competent minister of militia.

"I would rather see signs of some work being done than try to draw up plans for a talking council."

But though he would consent to no general plan, he was zealous in forwarding every practical measure. That Canada should give to Britain a tariff preference, with or without direct return in kind, he was certain. Even commercially he considered that it would be an advantage, building up trade, ensuring return cargoes, lessening the cost of freight. It would also be a manifestation at once of our loyalty and of our gratitude, and would draw closer the bands of empire, and be perhaps the first step on the road towards inter-imperial free trade. Such a preference he advocated in "A Policy for Canada" in 1893. At the same period he was in communication with Mr. D'Alton McCarthy, whose independent course was causing much trouble to the official Conservative party. Tariff reduction was prominent in McCarthy's programme, and Grant urged him to declare for discrimination in favour of Great Britain. McCarthy, however, declined to commit himself. "I have reached the conclusion," he wrote on October 16th, 1893, "that we could not succeed in a policy which would exclude the United States from free trade, or partial free trade, if the rulers at Washington are willing to reciprocate with us."

PRINCIPAL GRANT

During the next few years the imperial idea made rapid progress. In 1896 the Liberals came into power, and in the following year the most important of the tariff proposals of the minister of finance¹ was a preference to goods manufactured in Britain of twenty-five per cent., subsequently increased to thirty-three per cent. Of each successive increase Grant was a strong advocate, and his disgust at the opposition of the Conservative party threw him more and more into sympathy with the Liberals. In 1898 a preference was given to West Indian sugar. For this measure of relief to the oldest and the most unfortunate of Britain's colonies, Grant was largely responsible.

To Colonel G. T. Denison, January 3rd, 1898, (private and confidential).—"A happy New Year to you! I have just returned from Ottawa. Had an hour with Fielding discussing the West India question, which he understands thoroughly. I think that something will be done, though perhaps not all we might wish at first.

"Had an hour also with Laurier. First, the preference hereafter is to be confined to Britain. That is settled, but this is, of course, strictly confidential.

"Secondly, he seemed at first to think that we had gone far enough with our twenty-five per cent. reduction, till we could see its workings, but when I argued for going on steadily along that line, he

¹ The Hon. W. S. Fielding.

IMPERIALISM

said, 'I do not say yea, but I do not say nay.' I intend to push the matter.

"He is in favour of the cable, but thinks that we cannot take it up this session.

"He impresses me favourably the more I study him. He has a truer understanding of the forces in Britain than Tupper, in my opinion.

"Of course I told Fielding that the West India suggestion was yours, and that I cordially endorsed it. He is anxious to do something, but thinks that we must ask, in dealing with them, a *quid pro quo*."

April 9th, 1898.—"I am sure that my thorough discussion of the West India matter with Fielding did good, but the suggestion came from you. We may be well satisfied with the action of the government, but it will be bad if the public gets the idea that the British Empire League is 'pressing' them. It is our task rather to educate public opinion. Things are moving steadily in the right direction.

"PS.—Mulock evidently is aiming at imperial penny postage. Good."

The attainment of imperial penny postage he regarded as a great victory, and he gave full credit to the unwearied pertinacity of Sir William Mulock. "How well Mulock has done!" he writes to Colonel Denison on August 20th, 1898. "I know the difficulties that he had to overcome. It is positively silly not to give him all credit; unwise too."

Of the establishment in Canada of an imperial

PRINCIPAL GRANT

naval reserve he was also in favour. "Goschen has weakened in his *non possumus* regarding the naval reserve," he wrote to Colonel Denison, "and has taken a position that is quite reasonable, though it is one which shows that his former attitude was mistaken. We must now peg away on this line, and get the government to meet him half way as regards expense. The difficulties in the way are imaginary; at any rate, so far as Newfoundland and Nova Scotia are concerned there will be plenty of likely lads to offer. I do not know how it is, so far as Ontario is concerned."

Next in importance to the tariff he regarded the plan of a pan-Britannic cable and telegraph system, encircling the globe. This idea had been for many years advocated by his friend, Sir Sandford Fleming, and Grant supported him loyally. He hailed with joy the establishment of the first great link in the project, the Pacific cable between Canada, New Zealand and Australia, owned and operated by these countries and by the home government. Of the many delays which attended its construction, even after the general plan had been decided upon, a letter to Dr. G. R. Parkin gives us a glimpse:—

"I am delighted to hear that a meeting of the British Empire League has been called for Tuesday night to consider the present position of the Pacific cable enterprise. The frequent delays are unaccountable, except to those who know what a grip the Eastern Extension octopus has in quarters which

IMPERIALISM

should be free from all secret and sinister influences. All the hostile forces have their headquarters in London, and their great object is to defeat us by securing successive delays. Every year's delay means hundreds of thousands of dollars in their pockets. Most unfortunately, in my judgment, our government did not appoint as one of its commissioners Sir Sandford Fleming, when it was at last agreed to appoint a board to attend to construction. He is the one man who has led the fight against the monopoly from the start, and it must have been great joy to the Eastern Extension gang when they found that he was ignored. Our two commissioners, Lords Strathcona and Aberdeen, are universally respected and have immense influence; but both of them would readily acknowledge, that on this matter, Sir Sandford is the authority, and he should be at the post of danger clothed with all the influence that Canada can give him, until the victory is gained.

"I need hardly say that Fleming has not the slightest suspicion that I am writing you on this subject. He will probably be angry with me for mentioning his name, especially if you should think fit to give my views to the meeting. Indeed, expressions of opinion will, I fear, do no good, for he could not now be appointed a commissioner. Still, I cannot help saying that a mistake was made which ought not to have been made."

In October, 1899, broke out the war between

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Great Britain and the allied forces of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. No public event during his life so saddened Grant's heart; in none did he find it so hard to discern the finger of Providence. For the Boers he had a deep admiration. He knew their history, sympathized with the struggles and the sacrifices which they had made for liberty, and understood the monstrous mistakes which, with the best of motives, had been perpetrated by the British government. While in South Africa he had become a warm personal friend of Mr. John Henry Hofmeyer, for whose character and motives he conceived a very high regard. The wanton lawlessness of Jameson's filibustering raid in 1895 moved his indignation. His admiration for Cecil Rhodes, of whose complicity he felt certain, changed into what can only be described as loathing. "I hope to live to see the rascal hanged," he said more than once. As between the ignorant and dirty but simple-minded and Bible-loving Boer, and the gold-seeking speculator of Johannesburg, his sympathy was entirely with the former.

To G. R. Parkin, June 7th, 1899.—"I hope Milner may succeed with Oom Paul. If he does it will be surprising, for the positions of the two parties are really contradictory, and to my mind the Transvaal is keeping wholly within its rights. God keep us from a war of aggression on the Dutch, who would be fighting for an independence sanctioned by solemn treaty."

IMPERIALISM

The insolent ultimatum of President Kruger solved his difficulties. After that, he felt there was nothing for Britain to do but "to see the thing through."

To G. R. Parkin, February 1st, 1900.—"I feel no anxiety. No other power will interfere. Fortunately for my peace of conscience, the Boers forced war on us. The upward progress of humanity has always been accompanied with blunders and crimes on all sides, and in trying to strike a balance the British empire is fairly clean, or at any rate, less dirty than others. But when I cease to sympathize with a people struggling for independence, may I die. Certainly, good is coming out of evil. The empire is becoming practically federated. Theoretical federation will follow."

Of the sending of Canadian troops he heartily approved, but he was grieved at the niggardliness of our government in allowing Britain to pay the cost of the equipment, transportation, and maintenance of our later contingents. Writing to Sir Wilfrid Laurier on January 1st, 1900, in answer to a request for advice, he says:—

"1. It should be understood that Canada intends to pay all the expenses of her contingents. When the men return, they should receive not only the shilling per diem paid in South Africa, but as much more, to make their pay correspond to the difference between the British and the Canadian rates of wages.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

"2. Should a third contingent be called for, we have neither the officers nor the horses needed for it. To prepare for this, and at the same time do what a year ago was deemed wise by the minister of militia in our own interests, we should at once organize the regiment of Mounted Rifles in the North-West recommended in General Hutton's report as submitted to parliament. That is the kind of force needed in the Transvaal, but drill for some weeks or even months would be indispensable to efficiency.

"8. We should at once offer the imperial government to garrison Halifax and Jamaica, and so enable them to withdraw for active service the only two white battalions they have on our continent and islands. The case of Halifax is clear. But, why trouble ourselves about the West Indies, it may be asked? In all imperial matters, so far as North America is concerned, the voice of Canada should be potent, or even decisive.

"The government has already taken this position and it has been practically conceded by the actual constitution of the present high commission. Action in accordance with this is called for now. The action hinted at would do us good in many ways, would be popular with the militia, and in line with what Britain is doing.

"In mentioning the above three points I have had in view a policy that would show due liberality to our boys, forethought and initiative. That a dis-

IMPERIALISM

tinct policy is called for, and that the government should lead in it, and not have it forced on them, seems to me too clear for argument."

His national pride was deeply wounded at the rejection of his proposals.

To G. R. Parkin, May 29th, 1900.—"I quite agree with you that there should be no excessive elation over what we have done in the war. I do not see why there should be. Australia and New Zealand have done far more than we in proportion to their population, and their men went to the field better prepared than ours. The whole cost to us will be about half a million sterling, a flea-bite compared to the cost of the war and to what we get from Britain. When the war is over, I shall do all I can to get our government to repay to Britain every dollar our soldiers have cost her. We should give, not a partial, but a complete gift, if we do give little."

In his last public address, delivered in Convocation Hall to the students, on January 6th, 1902, he spoke still more bitterly:—"At the present moment our position is not one to be proud of. From a war, —to the justice of which our parliament had unnecessarily pledged itself, while both sides were engaged in peaceful negotiations; the justice of which has been repeatedly affirmed by the prime minister and parliament; and in which we took active part enthusiastically at the outset,—we have quietly withdrawn, leaving the enormous cost in

PRINCIPAL GRANT

blood and treasure to be borne by the senior partner. True, we are permitting a few hundreds to be recruited for service, but on conditions that make our position more deplorable than ever. We are not to pay a cent of the cost! We give the bravest of our children to die by the bullet or still deadlier enteric; but some one else must pay their wages. We do not grudge the blood of our sons, but with a treasury so full that we can go on paying millions for bounties and bonuses to develop resources which are said to be the richest in the world,—we grudge food, clothing and transport for them. Let 'the weary Titan,' bearing on her back all the common burdens of the empire in peace and war, be at this charge also. Let Canada accept the blood money without a blush. This state of things cannot continue. The empire must be practically as well as nominally united. That principle I continue to hold as axiomatic, if we are a nation in any sense; I might say, if we are honest men, in any sense."

And on April 1st, 1902, in one of his last letters, he writes to the Rev. Salem Bland, of Ottawa:—"Thanks for your utterance on the paltry attitude of the government and opposition; and there is not a single man in parliament who has the pluck to utter the real voice of Canada. It is doubly necessary for men who would otherwise keep quiet to speak out. I felt keenly the beggarly way in which we sent our last poor contingent, but the answer of the government to Chamberlain's invitation to dis-

IMPERIALISM

cuss matters of general interest was worse. And yet not a man on either side to speak out ! I was glad Parkin and Denison gave expression in different ways to their feelings, but am still gladder that you felt it your duty to speak as you did. The pulpit refrains too much from dealing with national affairs."

CHAPTER XXI

LAST DAYS

IN 1899 Grant decided that the time had come for a change in the constitution and in the status of Queen's, a change apparently so decisive, and even so contradictory to her history and previous affiliations, that it took all his influence to convince the trustees and the graduates of its wisdom. Of its necessity, and of its harmony with his watchword of "evolution, not revolution," he was convinced; but he admitted that in tracing the underlying continuity of sentiment the external vestments of the truth had to be discarded. The continuity was one of reality, but unfortunately not of forms.

Queen's in 1899 differed from Queen's of 1841 or of 1874 in more than in numbers. The powers of the council, which represented the graduate body, had been enlarged, and in particular it had been granted the right of electing five trustees, who were not necessarily, or indeed usually, Presbyterians. Several of the faculty and the majority of the students were not members of that church. The training of young men for the Presbyterian ministry was no longer the most important branch of her work. Her arts graduates numbered more than eleven hundred, and

PRINCIPAL GRANT

in the province twenty per cent. of the teachers in the high schools and collegiate institutes had been trained within her walls. She had thus become a provincial, indeed, a national institution.¹ Confederation had entrusted education to the care of the provinces, and Grant felt it time for the government of Ontario to give direct financial recognition to the work which Queen's was doing so efficiently. This help was indeed becoming a necessity. The resources of her old constituency had been exhausted, and though the loyalty of the graduates was as enthusiastic as ever, their means were inadequate to support her upon a large scale. Practical science had been admitted to a share in the affections of the university, and was proving a terribly expensive mistress. Grant's own health was failing, and a campaign such as that of 1878 or 1887 was out of the question. Outwardly as buoyant as ever, talking cheerily of a year's leave of absence and a visit to Palestine, he knew that the shadow was creeping closer, and a great desire came over him

¹ In the autumn of 1903, four hundred and sixty-nine out of eight hundred and fifty-three students were non-Presbyterians. The figures were :—

Presbyterians	384
Anglicans.....	123
Methodists.....	236
Roman Catholics	67
Baptists	16
Congregationalists	14
Others	13
	<hr/>
	469
	<hr/>
	853

LAST DAYS

to place the university on a secure financial footing ere the end came. "Queen's lives," he said once to his son, "but she lives by having killed MacKerras and by having half killed me." He braced himself for a last attempt to give her security by winning the governmental recognition she so well deserved.

For a number of years the government had showed itself ready to aid higher education at Kingston, had expressly avowed its satisfaction if its grants incidentally or indirectly benefited Queen's, but had carefully insisted on a nominal separation between Queen's and the institutions receiving aid. The impression prevailed in some quarters that she resorted to indirect means to gain state aid. It would be more correct to say that the Ontario government resorted to indirect means to aid the university. It has been shown that the delay in affiliating the School of Mining was caused by the virtual command of Sir Oliver Mowat, who expressly suggested that the closer connection could be effected after an interval.

Though refusing to admit that the giving or refusing of aid to denominational institutions was other than a question of expediency, Grant did not seriously attempt to revive the issue. For state aid he was willing to make the sacrifice of severing the technical connection between the university and the church. But partly unconsciously, partly with deliberate intent, the University of Toronto had

PRINCIPAL GRANT

succeeded in identifying the question of aid to denominational institutions with that of the existence of more than one provincial university. The original grant of land by the province in 1797 for "seminaries" had been wholly appropriated by Toronto, and on Grant's first open attempt to raise the new issue, his desire to obtain aid for a second provincial university in Kingston was dexterously confused with a scheme to revive the old issue of aid to denominational colleges. "What of Ottawa University?" it was asked, "and the university at London? Should the province aid them also?" "Certainly," was the reply. "Whenever, and not till when, they are doing a large proportion of the work of the province, and are willing to become not only in fact but in name, undenominational."

Grant's real reason for the change lay in the attitude of the Presbyterian Church. The union of 1875 had distinctly stipulated that no obligation should be laid upon the United Church for the appointment of trustees in arts, or for the maintenance of that faculty. Even the loose connection which was maintained seemed too close for a section who held that it was undesirable for the church under any circumstances to embark upon work which more properly fell to the civil power. The fusion of the four churches remained far from complete in all educational interests. Support even to the theological faculty was given grudgingly, and was usually in arrears of the sum fixed by the Assembly. In 1879,

LAST DAYS

and for several years after, a scheme was discussed in the Assembly for founding a national Presbyterian university, a paper body to confer degrees in theology. The motive which inspired the supporters of this idea was certainly not friendliness to Queen's. The widening of her constitution, partial in theory, complete in practice, was looked on with suspicion.

Grant's liberal views in questions of doctrine had won for him the reputation of being dangerous, and his growing prominence as an advocate of the modern school of historical criticism gave not a little offence. The difference came to a head in 1892. In May and June of that year, an attack was made upon Queen's in the Toronto press by Mr. Mortimer Clark, a prominent lawyer, president of the board of trustees of Knox College, and an influential member of the Assembly. When the Assembly met, and the report of Queen's for the past year was presented, Mr. Clark moved that a committee be named to confer with the trustees of Queen's, and to "recommend some scheme whereby the appointment, control and removal of professors in the theological faculty of Queen's College, and also the direction and regulation of teaching of the theological department of that college, shall be vested in the General Assembly as fully and to the same extent as they now are vested in it in the cases of Knox and Montreal Colleges." His complaint was that the Assembly had at present no

PRINCIPAL GRANT

control over the appointments made by the trustees to the theological faculty, further than that the appointees be Presbyterian ministers, and that five of the appointing trustees need not even be members of the church.

Grant's reply was long remembered. So complete was his victory that in the opinion of many he went too far and forced them to feel a certain sympathy for the unhappy victim. Step by step he traced the history of Queen's, and showed how faithful she had been to the church, how careful to make no move without the approval of the Assembly. "The great point that we are all agreed on is that the legislation of 1874 was obtained openly and constitutionally, that the negotiating churches knew of it, and that no opposition to it was made from any quarter whatsoever. What was the object of the Act of 1874? It was officially stated that it was to 'increase the efficiency and extend the usefulness of the college.' That was the precise object which the bill of 1889 contemplated, and Mr. Clark admits that the legislation of 1889 was well calculated to secure the object. It was good legislation, he says; good for Queen's as a great institution of learning; but he adds, 'we as Presbyterians cannot look at it from that point of view.' If an enemy of the church used such an expression we should accuse him of libelling Presbyterianism. As Mr. Clark has used it, I shall only point out to him that in 1874 'we

LAST DAYS

as Presbyterians' did look at it from that point of view, and I shall prove too, that the General Assembly, in 1885 and 1889, also looked at it from the same point of view. The only answer that Mr. Clark can possibly make to these historical facts is the plea of the famous jurymen who complained that he had never in the course of his long life met men so obstinate as his eleven colleagues!"

In his peroration he rose to a height of indignant eloquence, and sat down, leaving Mr. Clark, in the words of an eye-witness, "the dazed possessor of a purely imaginary grievance." Never again did anyone dare to challenge the adoption of the report of the trustees of Queen's. But her friends felt that, though Mr. Clark had put himself in the wrong, it would be well to remedy the defect to which he had pointed, and a friendly discussion in the Assemblies of 1893 and 1894 resulted in the trustees voluntarily giving to the church a veto upon all theological appointments.

But though none dared again to rouse such an antagonist, a large section of the church persisted in its lukewarm attitude. To induce them to take a warmer interest in "the Presbyterian university" Grant strove in vain for over twenty years. The General Assembly was as obdurate in refusing to recognize any responsibility for Queen's as the Ontario government was to help a denominational institution. Grant came at last to feel that it was better to sever a connection which had become

PRINCIPAL GRANT

nominal, and to make the constitution of the university representative of the work it was doing. Writing in *Queen's Quarterly* for October, 1900, he says:—

“Since 1874 the church has ceased as a body to recognize any responsibility for the maintenance and development of the university. Harmony has indeed existed between the church and the graduates as to what constitutes a right ideal of education for clergy and laity alike; and this may have been a more vital force than a formal connection would have been. But there is no church organization to which we can appeal for defence or support, although the nominal connection with the church which still exists must always make it difficult for many graduates to feel the full measure of their responsibility, while it prevents municipalities in eastern Ontario, or the government and legislature of the province, from voting the direct aid which otherwise could be legitimately sought from them. Such aid would be construed by denominational institutions into a ground for granting aid to themselves. That question was settled thirty years ago, and could not be re-opened.”

With the apathy which he found in the church, with the readiness with which it assented to his proposals, he was surprised and disappointed. Not a dissentient voice was raised. This apathy was perhaps more apparent than real, and was in a large measure due to a feeling of the hopelessness of op-

LAST DAYS

posing him in any measure connected with Queen's upon which he had set his heart. The consummate diplomacy with which he conducted the negotiations increased this feeling of hopelessness. The Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, though not so fully controlled as that of the Church of Scotland by a "round-the-table oligarchy," is swayed by a few recognized leaders. Of these Grant was one.

"In the Scottish Assemblies," writes Principal Gordon, "it is customary for a very limited number of acknowledged leaders to speak upon a subject, and, after they have discussed it, so little remains to be said that it is time to take the vote. The Canadian General Assembly does not care to acknowledge leaders, and it listens attentively to any one, however young or old, who can throw light upon the subject under discussion. Yet, of necessity, some members come to the front by reason of their special fitness to be there. Familiar with the work and having quick perception of the bearings of any question, they see the proper course while others are still in search of it, and shape a suitable resolution before others have quite taken in the situation. This kind of ability is often of more value than great debating power, and it wins the reward of being followed. By virtue of it men like Dr. Grant and Dr. Caven come to be looked to as pathfinders, and their words are waited for by those of less experience.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

"Few were as familiar as Principal Grant with the various departments of the church's work. For years a member of the foreign mission committee, he rendered signal service to the mission cause by his excellent articles on 'Our Five Foreign Missions,' published first in the *Toronto Globe*, and afterwards in pamphlet form for general circulation. Owing to his intimate acquaintance with Canada from sea to sea, and his personal knowledge of the vast prairie region, he could discuss with expert intelligence the needs and plans and efforts of home missions. None were more closely in touch with the educational interests of the church, or followed with keener attention the reports on church life and work. Perhaps the only scheme of the church on which he never spoke in the Assembly was that of French evangelization, a work with which he had no sympathy, but which, from a sense of loyalty, he would not actively oppose."

In the present negotiations Grant succeeded in enlisting on his side the leaders of the various sections in the church, and the rank and file submitted, though, as after events have shown, not without mistrust. In the Assembly of 1900, after the report from Queen's had been presented, Grant moved that the Assembly defer further action until a committee had considered the constitutional changes suggested. This was seconded by Principal MacVicar, of the Montreal Theological College. The convener of the committee was Dr. John Thomp-

LAST DAYS

son, of Sarnia, whose unfailing sagacity had won him a high place in the councils of the church. The report of this committee, which was unanimously adopted, stated in general terms that the Assembly "would approve of any well-considered change in the constitution of the university, which would still further increase its usefulness by making the body of trustees more completely representative of the undenominational character of the work which it is at present doing." A committee was appointed to confer with the trustees of the university as to details; of this committee the convener was the Very Rev. William Caven, principal of Knox College, the most cautious, influential, and enlightened member of the former Canada Presbyterian wing of the church. To winning him over Grant successfully bent all his powers.

On November 1st and 2nd, 1900, the corporators of the university were called together in Convocation Hall for the first time since the foundation of the university, and two long sessions were held of the trustees, senate, council, graduates, benefactors, and corporators.

The meeting was stormy, and not till the close of the second day did it come round to Grant's views. Many representatives of the Old Kirk, whose loyalty would not let them oppose their recognized leader in the Assembly, now spoke out. The university had been founded with a certain object in view. To cease directly to pursue that object was

PRINCIPAL GRANT

treason to the pious founders and benefactors. Grant himself felt that to render the university undenominational, and to change the theological faculty into an affiliated college, was open to serious objections. The professors of theology objected to the loss of status involved. Integral connection with a great university enabled the students of divinity "to see life steadily, and see it whole," to retain during their theological studies a zeal for general culture, and the ability to pursue post-graduate work. Even more important was the influence of the divinity faculty, direct and indirect, upon the whole university. No university in Canada had so free and untrammelled a spirit, yet none was so reverent and devout. This last consideration Grant felt strongly. Writing to Principal Caven, he says: "Nothing would compensate me for any weakening of the religious life of Queen's; and I see no practical guarantee for the maintenance of that so great as the close relations which have existed in the past between our arts and theological students."

Personally, he looked favourably on a plan which has been adopted in several universities in Germany and in the United States, of retaining the faculty of theology, but making it undenominational, studying theology as freely and scientifically as philosophy or mathematics. But for this he felt that the religious sentiment of Canada was not prepared, and to retain a Presbyterian faculty of theology in an undenominational university he saw to be impossible. In

LAST DAYS

spite of these doubts, he continued his advocacy of the main plan, until gradually the convention came around to his view, some convinced, others silenced, and a practically unanimous vote was registered in favour of the change.

The winter was taken up with negotiations. The Assembly's committee was conferred with on several occasions. Numerous interviews with the premier and the leader of the opposition made it almost certain that if the project were consummated the claims of Queen's would be recognized. At the Assembly of 1901, the report of the committee was presented by Principal Caven; its adoption was moved by Professor D. M. Gordon,¹ of Halifax, the most universally trusted of the Old Kirk leaders; the seconder was Dr. Thompson, of Sarnia. Opposition was hopeless, and the resolutions in favour of the change were unanimously carried. The consent of the corporators and of the church having been won, the ratification of the change by the Dominion parliament was now necessary, and a bill was drawn up embodying the ideas which had gradually been shaping themselves in Grant's mind. Control was to be vested, as before, in the trustees. Of the new board, some members were to be chosen by and from the former trustees, and vacancies were to be filled by coöptation; an increased number were to be elected by the graduates as represented in the university coun-

¹ Now the principal of Queen's University.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

cil; one member (with the title of Lord Rector) was to be elected by the undergraduates; the aid given by the city of Kingston was to be recognized by giving it representation; the minister of education was to be a member, and in the event of the province coming to the aid of the university, the government was to be still further recognized. Divinity Hall was to be erected into a separate college, placed under the direct control of the church, and affiliated with the university. Were this done, it would be perfectly open to any other church to establish a theological hall of its own in connection with Queen's, and in fact a project was debated by Kingston Anglicans of opening a Church of England seminary in affiliation with the university. Each affiliated college or hall was to be represented on the trustee board by its principal.

All seemed favourable. His own election to the position of principal of the new institution was secure; his half-laughing suggestion to the Assembly that the new trustees might deem it necessary to offer him up as a holocaust was dismissed without remark. He had selected a head for the new theological college, the church was quiescent, the attitude of both government and opposition satisfactory. In a few months all would have been completed, when the final stage of the negotiations was thrown into confusion by his sudden death.¹

¹ The Assembly of 1903 reversed his policy, and referred back to a committee the whole question of the relations of Queen's to the church.

LAST DAYS

In 1896 renewed attacks of pain forced him to undergo the first of what proved to be a series of operations. In 1899 he grew steadily worse. On January 1st, 1901, his wife died, and he sought respite from grief in overwork. Writing to his sister, in February, he says: "I am thankful for steady work. It more than anything else is a blessing; for it keeps me from vain mourning, and too much introspection. To-day I have given three addresses on the queen, at the university, at the joint meeting of the four Presbyterian Churches, and at night in the Armouries to over three thousand people, besides a funeral address for one of our people who was killed by an ice-boat. I preach to-morrow forenoon and lecture on Monday, so I have not much time for twenty letters I have to write before going to bed."

In 1901, to the constant strain of the negotiations relative to the new constitution was added a course of lectures which he delivered during June and July at Chatauqua, and the disagreeable duties of a campaign among the somewhat unsympathetic farmers of Frontenac county. On March 11th, the death of his old friend, Professor Macdonald, of Dalhousie University, increased the solitude of his private life. Towards the end of July he crossed the ocean to Britain to obtain sea-air, and to consult a specialist. Much of his time, however, was occupied

At the moment of writing the position of the university is still in doubt. See report in the Kingston and Toronto press of February 9th, 1904.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

in the search for a suitable professor of French and Italian, the trustees having deemed it advisable to reinforce the over-worked professor of modern languages. After some weeks spent in Dundee with his brother, and in the Highlands, at the beginning of September he returned to Canada. On his railway journey to Liverpool the weather was bitterly cold, and Grant lent first his plaid and then his overcoat to a poor woman in the compartment. A serious chill resulted, which struck inward, and which grew worse on shipboard, owing to his becoming overheated while playing shovel-board. In Kingston he was carried from his house to the hospital, and so serious was his condition that the doctors told him to prepare for the worst. "My work is not yet done," he gasped faintly. For several days worry arising from a curious source lessened his chances. The tour through Canada of the Duke and Duchess of York had been signalized by the bestowal of the customary honours, and on his arrival at Quebec the sick man was greeted with the news that he had been created C.M.G. To the acceptance of titles by the clergy Grant entertained strong objection, modelling his views on those of Norman Macleod. From at least one former governor-general he had declined the honour, and that he was now compelled to accept the gift preyed on his shattered nerves. Against the orders of his doctors he insisted on consulting friends, and only became reconciled when persuaded

LAST DAYS

that the honour was a recognition of the work done not by himself, but by the university. For a week he lay between life and death. Gradually his will pulled him through. During his convalescence he was visited in the hospital by the duke and duchess, an unpremeditated act of kindness and courtesy which did much throughout Canada to increase the popularity of the royal pair. He was also gratified by the response of His Royal Highness to the degree which was conferred upon him by the university. "I value highly," said the duke, "the honour you have conferred upon me. The Dominion has advanced wonderfully in educational matters. It was a wise and far-seeing policy to establish many seats of learning. I am glad to learn that our university is carrying on most successfully its share in this work of placing higher education and culture within the reach of all."

By December Grant was able to preside at meetings of the senate. On January 6th, 1902, he delivered his last public address. The next two months were occupied with unresting activities, but a fresh attack early in March drove him again to the hospital. Again his will brought him back to life. His nerve and muscles were still unskaken. "You have the arteries of a young man," said his doctor; "if we can conquer the local ailment you are good for thirty years."

He recovered sufficiently to carry out in person all arrangements for the university convocation,

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and on April 27th conducted the devotional exercises preceding the baccalaureate sermon preached by his friend, Professor Clark, of Trinity University. The lesson was the fifth chapter of I Thessalonians, and as he read the strangely fitting words, his deep voice had a note of special tenderness, as if he felt that for him "the day of the Lord" was very near. On Tuesday and Wednesday he was unable to attend the closing exercises, and on Monday, May 5th, his condition became so serious that his only surviving son was sent for. Two specialists hurriedly summoned from Toronto pronounced his case hopeless, but thought that an operation might give temporary relief. It was performed on Monday afternoon, and a measure of consciousness returned. So strong was he that for some days he seemed to improve, and the doctors ventured to hope. On Tuesday night the watcher by the bedside caught the whispered prayer: "Give me a chance; O my God, give me a chance." But the long fight was almost over. During Friday night he sank rapidly, and on Saturday morning it was evident that the end was near. His breath came slower and slower. Once he seemed to rouse for a moment. "Get it done, get it done quickly," he said, his thoughts wandering amid former scenes of work and conflict. After a moment he looked up into the face of his son, smiled faintly, and then with his wife's name upon his lips, he fell asleep.

On May 18th, just forty years after his induction

LAST DAYS

to the pastorate of St. Matthew's, his body was carried to its last rest. The funeral service was conducted in Convocation Hall, the exercises being read by Professor Ross, the senior member of the theological faculty, and the sermon preached by the Rev. Robert H. Warden, moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The throngs that filled the hall and lined the streets showed how completely he had won the respect and affection of his townsmen, of his province and of his country. Not even at the death of Sir John Macdonald had Kingston seen gathered together so many representatives of different creeds and political parties and walks of life. Beyond the city, on the sun-lit slopes of the little hill which forms Cataraqui Cemetery, all that is mortal of him was laid to rest.

CHAPTER XXII

WITH THE STUDENTS

THE finest aspect of Grant's nature, the side on which he touched true greatness, lay in his deep love for his fellow-men, and in his confidence that to all reasonable appeals they would fully respond. This side of his character came out strongly in his dealings with his students. His love for them was deep. He dealt with them often by way of appeal, seldom, if ever, by compulsion. They were in a very real sense his "boys," as he fondly called them, and he to them a father. When his wife died, the only tears which he shed other than in solitude, were drawn from him by the sympathy of the great council of the students, the *Alma Mater* Society. When the session of the medical faculty began in the autumn of 1901, and their new building was opened, he was too weak to raise his head from the pillow ; but against the command of his doctors, he insisted on gasping to his son a few words of greeting "to my boys of the medical faculty."¹

¹ "Ten days ago one of your professors told me to look into the kingdom of darkness. I did so steadily and found nothing to terrify. But several truths were impressed upon me, one or two of which I give you. Never was I so much impressed with the advantage of having distinct centres of medical education, or with the generosity of your

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Like all wise fathers and statesmen, he believed firmly in letting well enough alone. The behaviour of the student body at Queen's was a triumph of democracy. They governed themselves and they governed themselves well. This tradition Grant did not originate. Long anterior to his coming, it was the chief secret of that fervid loyalty shown by the students to their university in the darkest hours of her history. But it was continued and broadened under Grant's principalship, and guided by him through the difficulties caused by increasing numbers, and the separation of the various faculties in the different buildings. Asked if he did not find it difficult to control the youths who poured in annually from the farms and rural villages, full of the new-world distrust for constituted authority, he replied, "We teach them to control themselves." Very seldom was the influence of the senate directly exerted upon the discipline of the university. Such matters were left in the hands of the *Alma Mater* Society, the *Æsculapian* Society, or the various

professors. The old pagan idea that matter is evil and the body worthless is only now giving way to the Christian idea of the sacredness of the body and the high duty of understanding its mystery. As to yourselves, for the sake of all that is noble and worthy, take your profession seriously, as the students of divinity take theirs. If you cannot do that, drop it and seek some honest way of making a living. It is awful to think that men, women and children should be at the mercy of irreverent and half-taught young doctors. I pledge myself that hereafter, for your own sakes and for the sake of humanity, I shall try to let no such student pass our examinations. God help you to lay this word to your hearts."

WITH THE STUDENTS

Concursus. This apparent lack of supervision sometimes led to outbursts which a doctrinaire or a martinet would have felt constrained to resent; but the general record of the students during twenty-five years has justified Grant's confidence. The only serious outbreaks originated on the rare occasions on which his hot temper got the better of him. Once his attempt at a university function to keep order by the aid of two policemen was met—rightly, as he soon came to admit—by the turning out of lights and the breaking of benches. Thereafter the maintenance of order in the students' gallery was entrusted to the Æsculapian Society and to the *Alma Mater*, and trouble ceased. Once, even his stentorian voice failed to roar down the half-laughing, half-indignant gallery. But in twenty-five years of relations which both his own warm nature and the necessities of the university rendered specially intimate, there were but two or three such failures.

While as far as possible he abstained from direct interference in the discipline of the university, while to the tales which were brought to him (some by credulous freshmen, others by over-ardent members of the staff) he almost invariably turned a deaf ear, on the few occasions when acts of meanness or of dishonesty necessitated his intervention, no culprit ever craved the lash a second time. His eloquence, his natural dignity, and his fine scorn for all that was base or ignoble, made his occasional rebukes

PRINCIPAL GRANT

live long in the memory of all who heard them. When compelled to curtail the liberty of the whole student body, his personal magnetism, his unflinching courage, and his instinct for leadership carried him through the most trying situations. An eyewitness gives the following account of what threatened to be a serious quarrel:—

“In the old days when the medical college was a separate institution, the Meds. used to have what was styled a ‘den.’ The gatherings which took place in the den had come to have a decidedly bad name, and when the colleges were affiliated, the principal intimated that no more such occurrences were to take place. This announcement was regarded by the medical students as a trespass upon their prerogatives by a foreign court, to which they were not disposed to submit; and they proceeded to set the fiat at naught. The principal informed the president of the Æsculapian Society that he wished to address the medical students, and a meeting was called. Everybody knew what it meant. Rebellion was the word, and any one that wants to pit himself against a mass meeting of medicals in such a frame of mind is either a very brave or a very tactless person. Were there any cat-calls? No, I don’t think so, though there may have been one or two before he was introduced. Had he begun as some college presidents might have done, there would have been pandemonium in five minutes; but with the usual fairmindedness of students, they waited to hear

WITH THE STUDENTS

what he would say. He fooled them completely. Instead of beginning in vituperation, he put them off their guard by an unexpectedly complimentary vein of interesting and flattering wit. Before they knew it, they were applauding his remarks roundly and had quite forgotten their proper hostile attitude. After a few minutes, when he had gained complete control, he gradually and ingeniously changed the form of his remarks, until finally he wound up by giving the whole medical student body such a sound trouncing, metaphorically speaking, as they had never imagined themselves capable of experiencing. He concluded amid applause, and the meetings in the den ceased."

So wide-spread and pervasive was his influence that what was from one point of view a democracy was from another a benevolent despotism. He worked upon the students through their leaders. An after-dinner chat with the president of the *Alma Mater* Society, a short conference in his study with the officers of the *Concursus*, or athletic committee, originated many movements in which the students little suspected his guiding hand. He was accessible to all; any who came for advice received it gladly, often reinforced by an anecdote from his own college days; though any whom hesitation or mistaken politeness prompted to remain after the completion of their business found the interview concluded with such celerity that it became a joke among the undergraduates

PRINCIPAL GRANT

that none of them had ever closed a conversation with him. At the beginning of a term his house was always full of freshmen, who, coming in search of advice, received an invitation to remain until they had found suitable boarding-houses. Those from a distance who were unable to leave the city during the Christmas vacation found the door of the principal's house ever open. At such times his love for Nova Scotia came out. Though he was too wise to show favouritism, no Christmas passed without a specially warm invitation to the lads from the east to share his Christmas dinner. But during the session he confined his intimacy chiefly to his own divinity students and to those of special influence in the other faculties. His hold upon the leaders in the social, athletic, and literary world of the university was thus very intimate, and enabled him to feel the pulse and to direct the counsels of a body of students whose numbers and diversity of interests were steadily increasing. His natural characteristics fitted him to be popular with young men. The old football captain took the keenest interest in their sports. He could often be seen dashing from the upper to the lower campus, so as to see as much as possible of two games proceeding simultaneously. To the last the current of joyous life ran strong in his veins. In 1900 he spent some days camping with a number of young people. He won their swimming races, took a leading part in their practical jokes, and joined lustily in their

WITH THE STUDENTS

camp-fire songs. In 1886, while in Cape Breton, he entered into a foot-race, and, much to their chagrin, outran, though in clerical attire, a number of young fellows who were in training for the championship of the county. Their equanimity was soon restored by his hearty manner and frank good-humour.

To a very extraordinary extent he possessed the politician's gift of remembering names, faces, and anecdotes. Before Christmas he could call by name any student in any faculty, and in most cases discuss with him the character of the leading men in his section of the country. To his divinity students entering upon work in the mission fields of the church, or in a settled pastorate, he was a perfect encyclopædia, telling them from what colleagues they could expect help, which elders would require delicate handling, on what shallows and quicksands their predecessors had made shipwreck, or to what virtues they owed their special success. With all graduates, and especially those in theology, he kept in touch to a wonderful degree. The following letter is one of many such which might be quoted:—

To the Rev. R. E. Knowles, February 19th, 1898.—"I heard to-day by a letter from Dr. Smith of your call to Galt, which, of course, you will accept, and I must write you a line, not so much to congratulate as to inspire you a little with what I conceive to be the spirit in which such a charge should be undertaken.

"You are now at the real beginning of your

PRINCIPAL GRANT

career, and you need wisdom from God as you never needed it before. I said recently that the man who never made a mistake will never make anything. If you see now any mistakes you have made in the past, examine earnestly the cause in yourself, and place a guard there. 'Experience teaches fools'—no, that is a foolish saying. Experience teaches wise men. It is the characteristic of fools that they will not be taught.

"I know enough of Galt to know that it is about the most difficult, and, therefore, the most honourable position in the church. You will be beset by pitfalls on every hand. You can escape them by being resolutely silent, even when you think you should speak. Do not attempt too much. Do not trust to your readiness in extemporizing. Give a definite portion of time to systematic and hard reading. It is a splendid field that is before you, and I am very anxious that you should be a success. But in such a field success cannot be pushed. It can only be won by wise, patient, consistent, faithful work, done always 'in the great Taskmaster's eye.' Popularity during the first year will be a snare and no help. Oh, I beseech you, my dear friend, cultivate humility, self-suppression to the point of unconsciousness of self, and a passionate desire for the highest good of your people.

"I will not say more, but I am earnestly praying for you."

In spite of the other duties which prevented

WITH THE STUDENTS

him from devoting to his work as primarius professor of divinity the time which he would fain have given, to many the hours spent in his classroom are among the most precious in their lives. Many who had previously looked upon him with suspicion, who had esteemed him unsound in the faith, over-clever, jesuitical, came there to feel how essentially sincere and candid he was. His heart was in the work. Every student felt that he was face to face with a man who thought far too nobly of the work of the Christian ministry to be other than sincere in directing the studies of those who were to be its servants. They might agree with his conclusions or not. For their agreement he cared little ; to proselytise he made no attempt ; if a student could be led to approach his studies with sincerity, with freedom from preconception, with the determination to welcome light from whatever quarter the God of light might send it, Grant was well satisfied. More than one whose unsuccessful career in arts had caused him to enter Divinity Hall in the state of mind of a sulky apprentice, was roused to zeal for better things by the principal's unstinted praise for every man who was doing his best, quite irrespective of his theological point of view.

His lectures were written with great care, and were revised yearly till the book became almost unintelligible, when they were either re-copied, or wholly re-written. They show familiarity with the processes

PRINCIPAL GRANT

and the results of modern scholarship in Scotland, Germany, and America, and are full of references to the most recent authorities. Sometimes, however, at the end of a course which had lasted during three weeks or a month, his manifold occupations would compel him to enter upon a week or a fortnight of marking time, after which another course would be begun. These periods of marking time, though rendered necessary by the demands of the principalship, were not the least instructive part of his work in the class-room. He held "quizzes," and conducted unconventional oral examinations, read them his latest theological article, or instituted a class in "ordinances," and held rehearsals of the various departments of the church's ritual. The terminal examination papers he set and read with the greatest care; the same care was given to reading essays, on whose regular composition he always insisted. His examinations were unconventional, and the questions often called more for common sense or religious insight than for exact verbal knowledge of his lectures.

While a competent scholar, widely read along certain lines, and with his knowledge well under control, he had not the type of mind of the pure scholar. Matters of no living importance he was apt to pass over. For the accuracy which busies itself over trifles he was not without admiration, but he had little of it himself. On one occasion the class were requested to write a note on Galatians ii. 8.

WITH THE STUDENTS

"But not even Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised." Scholars have long debated whether the verse implies that Titus underwent the operation of free will, or that it was remitted by the wise liberality of the elders at Jerusalem. Some of the students found out which view Grant had taken during a previous session, and without consulting authorities or taking any further trouble, announced their decision. Promptly seeing what had occurred, the principal adopted and argued with great force for the other view, evidently feeling that sincerity and hard work were of more value than scholastic accuracy. But though he could thus change his opinion on questions which he considered trivial, he never used a doubtful text to support an argument without confessing that there was a *varia lectio* or that the MSS. were obscure, or that on its meaning authorities differed. Much as he loved dialectics he was too sincere to take any undue advantage of those, who, like himself, were struggling towards the truth.

CHAPTER XXIII

WITH THE STAFF

"IN CANADA" writes Professor Cappon, "we are coming, as in the United States, to make great demands on the principal or president of a university. A mere scholar or philosopher, however great, such as used to adorn the office in the old universities of Europe, would be of little use to us at present. It is true the principal must be something of a scholar still, or his touch with the intellectual and spiritual side of the university would be feeble and mischievous; but he must be still more of an administrator and man of business, or the whole machinery of a modern university with its complicated and sometimes conflicting interests is in danger of getting out of gear. But this is not all. He must be something more than the scholar and administrator combined, he must be something in the nature of a great public man with a voice that reaches the ear of the country on all great questions, always ready to lead, always ready to take the platform. Even were he to profess himself nothing but an educationist, his duties in our day, when everything must be proven to the satisfaction of a democratic and self-governing community, take him out into the public arena. It is his work at once to adapt the

PRINCIPAL GRANT

university to the real needs of the age, and to educate the people into a proper sense of what those needs are. And that is a very difficult task in a time when educational ideas are so unsettled and the different relations of scientific, technical and literary education so ill-defined and so ill-understood by the public in general. He must keep his head amongst the many tempting and popular, but often superficial theories of the day. He must hold the balance fairly between the claims of classical, philosophical, literary and poetic culture, pure and applied science, practical and professional equipment, and know how to give each its place without injury to the others; or if he does not, the university he guides will soon show in the undefined and imperfect type of student it sends forth the results of an ill-balanced ideal of education.

“In carrying out this work, Principal Grant and the senate were in hearty coöperation. He had no pet subjects or theories, but judged everything with a free mind. His training in a Scottish university and his studies as a professor of divinity had given him a keen appreciation of the old arts course in classics, literature and philosophy, but this was fully balanced by his natural tendency to take hold of modern practical things and to move in the environment of his time. He liked always to be on the crest of the wave, and had more of the politician's instinct to make use of a popular movement than of the scholar's to criticize it. In this way all the

WITH THE STAFF

different educational interests embodied in Queen's senate were impartially appreciated and very successfully harmonized by him. He managed, in spite of great pecuniary difficulties, to stimulate and develop the side of practical science in Queen's while maintaining its humanistic studies in all their prestige and vigour."

The success of an independent university, such as Queen's, depends to an altogether exceptional extent upon the merits of its staff. Grant's multifarious labours would have been useless had he not gathered around him a band of scholars, many of them eminent in their departments of study, and all filled with his own spirit of devotion to the university. Not only was their regular work performed with zeal and efficiency, but when any new department of academic life was to be developed, he always called on them, and never in vain. Their zeal combined with his to make the Alumni Conference a success; for ten years they have supported *Queen's Quarterly*, the one exclusively literary magazine in Canada; since 1890, no winter session has been without a series of Sunday afternoon addresses, in part delivered by eminent clergymen from a distance, in part by the principal and the staff; for years he and several of his colleagues carried on in Ottawa and in other centres university extension work of the most thorough and systematic type.

"He was not only very energetic himself," writes.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

a colleague, "but he was very successful in stirring every one near him into activity. He was quick to see what use might be made of any qualifications or talent in the staff, and prompt in calling them into service. He was sagacious too in his manner of doing it, mostly managing to get the best service out of his man by providing tempting opportunities. He never sought to increase the day's task of the professor, but he drew him into all kinds of extra-official work, conferences, lecturing, editing, writing, which he could be tempted to take. He knew that in this way he did more to spread the influence of the university and develop the energies of its staff than if he had added six weeks to the session. He did nothing by constraint, although he would occasionally mildly bulldoze a lethargic professor into taking his share in Sunday afternoon addresses, or something of the sort. 'The Queen's government must be carried on,' was one of his most frequent sayings. He gave a cordial support to every kind of activity on the part of a professor, even if it seemed to encroach on other departments. 'I am glad,' I once heard him say in answer to some remonstrance, 'to find a man doing part of my work; there is plenty for me to do.'"

Rarely, if ever, did any of them refuse a request from the principal, however much labour it involved. They knew they were never asked to lead, but only to follow. The idea that he was asking a favour of any man, requesting him to perform an act of self-

WITH THE STAFF

sacrifice, was never mentioned, and probably seldom occurred to him. If he himself were the best fitted to carry out the task he took it upon him, no matter how many other irons were in the fire; if not, he handed it over to that colleague whom he considered fittest. All knew that he himself was doing three men's work, and doing it with unfailing cheerfulness; and all were proud to follow such a leader.

Once any work was entrusted to a colleague he was given an almost absolutely free hand. In his class-room the professor reigned supreme. In planning the details of his course, in recommending text-books, in the amount of attention devoted to any special branch of his subject, each man was free. Only once or twice in his whole career did the principal interfere in such matters, and then only when the whole sense of the senate¹ was with him in doing so.

In matters of administration, he kept the many strings almost entirely in his own hand. In later years the trustees, the finance committee, all the various departments of university administration, were simply mouth-pieces for his will, and came to have such confidence in his sagacity that even where some secretly were doubtful, all were publicly unanimous. The system worked smoothly, not so much because of the perfection of the machinery, but because it was so entirely transfused with the personality of one man. In dealing with the students or in

¹ In Queen's the senate consists of the professors alone.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

any matter which he considered to come within the sphere of the senate, his policy was one of extreme democracy; in matters of administration it might almost have been called Cæsarian. Against this benevolent despotism some of his colleagues occasionally murmured; but he felt it best to do the work for which he was so eminently fitted, leaving them free to devote their energies and scholarship to their respective departments. Yet on questions which lay distinctly within their sphere he bent readily to their opinion, and even in matters which lay more outside of their province he willingly consulted them, and seldom did anything which was against their judgment. In educational policy particularly, his wisdom was generally the final extract and essence of the senate's. But the more general development of the university and the methods by which its hold on its constituency and the general public was strengthened, owed their character and much of their success to his own remarkable energy and ability.

"At the board of Queen's senate," says Professor Cappon, "he was an excellent chairman, showing none of that impatience or brusque interference which he would occasionally display at other meetings. He knew exactly the form and scope which it was most advantageous to give discussion, and was very quick to see the bearing and value of any suggestion. On the whole he preferred to conduct business in the senate by familiar and informal discus-

WITH THE STAFF

sion, allowing members considerable latitude in the way of explanatory interruptions and frequent speech. But under him this method never degenerated into anything like disorder. He knew whom to give rope to, and had his own way of suppressing irrelevancy and undue expansiveness. Yet at times he would let even these go with a friendly laugh. The result was as quick a despatch of business as the nature of the case allowed. Under his guidance the senate invariably found its best reason without much loss of time. He always gave his own opinion, and if he had the matter at heart, allowed it to be known early in the discussion. The essential harmony which existed between Principal Grant and the senate was never permanently disturbed by any difference of opinion which might arise in discussion, even if it came to something like a conflict, as on rare occasions it might do. Disagreements were only the disagreements of the occasion, which never tended to prolong themselves beyond the occasion. He was never tempted to make a principal's party out of the members who were readiest to agree with him, and he never allowed an opposing member of the senate to feel that his opposition had in the least compromised his usefulness for the future. The staff as a whole consisted of very independent men, some of a deliberate temper that was unaffected by anything but the reason that appealed to them, some very free of speech when they thought the occasion required it, but I never knew the principal to cherish

PRINCIPAL GRANT

resentment on that account. The senate was to him as a family council, and he knew that there was no malice, no personal ill-will in any opposition he encountered."

Much of this unanimity was secured by previous arrangement. If he desired any change, the men involved were always consulted in advance; so that often little remained for the senate save to register decrees already decided upon. If disagreement arose, or an unexpected proposal were made, it was shelved till another meeting, and settled in the interim. Awkward questions were referred to committees, in whose composition he showed rare skill. But the real solvent of disputes was the confidence which all felt alike in the wisdom and fairness of their head.

"He was rather fond of ceremonial on great public occasions," writes Professor Cappon, "the more imposing the better. At such times he had a fine gravity and impressiveness, yet always gave a sense of reality. Forms he used most in self-defence, and readily over-rode them when they stood in his way. On one occasion, I remember, when the senate would have passed by a majority of one a measure he disapproved of, he voted against it from the chair, remarking, 'I, too, am a member of the senate.'"

On one question, and on one alone, was his policy towards the staff other than liberal and considerate. To all representations regarding the neces-

WITH THE STAFF

sity for an advance in salaries he turned a deaf ear. He would, at most, consider individual cases on their merits, and these grudgingly. "Every tub stands on its own bottom here," was his reply to a colleague who urged him to consider a general scheme of advance. "When I want fifty dollars for anything," he replied to another, "I write an article." Save for a few individual cases, the salary of a professor at Queen's stood at his death at the same amount as at his coming. "The same old thing year after year," broke out one irate professor, "it would be some relief to the monotony if they would even reduce it." In this and similar matters he had something of the remorselessness of great practical men who feel that they must carry through great schemes without too much consideration for individuals. The resources of Queen's were scanty and unassured, and he had to choose between raising salaries and increasing the number of the staff. He chose the latter alternative. To it he was predisposed by the simplicity of his own life. Of his own stipend over one-half went annually in subscriptions to the university, and he saw no reason why any professor should desire more than was sufficient to maintain a respectable livelihood.

His long struggle to keep the head of the university above water had left its traces on him in an impatience with considerations which he thought sentimental or of a kind in which only institutions more opulently circumstanced than Queen's could

PRINCIPAL GRANT

afford to indulge. On one occasion when a trustee had been successful in persuading the board to vote, much against the principal's will, an honorarium, or something of the kind, to a professor who was leaving, Grant's features contracted in the sarcastic way which at times marked them, and he almost hissed into the ear of one who sat next him, "It is devilish easy for a man to vote away money he has never had the trouble of collecting." But though this policy cost Queen's one or two of its professors, it was not only necessary, but had, as he well knew, advantages outweighing its defects. The staff came to look on the university as an institution for which it was their duty and their privilege to make sacrifices, not as a taskmaster to be importuned for higher wages. The widespread reputation and the well-known loyalty of the professoriate of Queen's are the best justification of the policy of the principal.

That he gathered around him, and maintained with so few alterations, so brilliant a group, is one of many proofs of his skill in the selection and in the management of men. Not that all appointments were primarily thought of by himself. Some of the best men on the staff were suggested to him by members of the trustee board, others by colleagues. These suggestions he was quick to accept and to carry out. Once the appointment was made, he possessed a rare faculty of taking each man at his best, and of getting his best out of him. From

WITH THE STAFF

petty jealousy he was entirely free, and the more brilliantly successful a colleague became, the more Grant rejoiced in the renown which he reflected upon the university. The senate of Queen's was thus in a very real sense a band of brothers—brothers who had their family jars and squabbles, but who in all important issues worked in noble harmony and fellowship for the glory of Queen's and the interests of the higher life which she so well represented.

CHAPTER XXIV

PRIVATE LIFE

GRANT did not wish his biography to be written; when his wife began to form a collection of his public utterances she was stopped with a sternness admitting of no reply. His private life he would have considered especially his own, but the curtain must to a certain extent be drawn, for no picture of him would be complete without a sketch of his daily intercourse with his family and with his friends.

His home life was very beautiful. During his frequent absences, his thoughts turned ever back to his wife and children. Committees might sit late, or a sermon have to be finished before morning; but, whether after midnight or before breakfast, time was always found for the letter to those at home. When at sea he followed their daily life, and was always anxious to know the difference in time in order to make the proper allowance in his calculations. A deep affection underlay his half-humorous protests that he would much rather be the quiet pastor of a country vicarage¹ than an ecclesiastical and imperial leader.

¹ To suppose that so brilliant a nature could have been satisfied with any country vicarage, however idyllic, is of course absurd, and was

PRINCIPAL GRANT

The debt which he owed to the wise counsellor at home he fully recognized. Again and again she curbed his impetuosity, moderated his ambition, and showed him where lay the path of duty and of prudence. Their confidence in each other was so deep that it seldom found expression in words. Each had a horror of mawkish sentiment ; his trust in and love for his wife was like his faith in God, too deep and sacred to be lightly spoken of. "Neither of us, I think, is much given to gush. 'Let the deed show' has always been my deepest feeling. Talking about yourself, even your affection, is a sign of a weak and unreliable nature."

Yet sometimes in their private letters the love burns through the Scotch reserve of the one, and the womanly reticence of the other.

"Yes, honestly I confess that till I got your letter this morning I had forgotten that fourteen years ago you and I became one flesh, man and wife, and that I had had the best of it ever since, I being a much-from-home wanderer, and when at home much engaged with distractions that kept me from family duty, while all the while you made home and family and husband your one object,

known to be so by himself. When he spoke of how it grieved him to leave home, and of the imperative voice of duty which dragged him forth, his wife would frequently quote a letter written her by a small friend aged eight who went into the country to stay with the Church of England rector: "I will not be Presbyterian any longer ; I will be Episcopal ; because I loves the Lord Jesus Christ, and because I likes it better."

PRIVATE LIFE

thought and affection. So, since receiving your letter, I have been thinking over the past, and thanking God for His goodness in giving me such a true, sweet, wise wife, whom I love more than all other beings in the world, and love better every year just because each returning year proves more fully how genuine she is, and makes me feel at the same time how selfish a creature I am. The one thing that makes me feel not so bad is, that you say you don't think any less of me now than you did on our marriage day. Thank you, my own dear wife, that you are able, just because of your love to take me into your heart and keep me there. How long a period fourteen years is, and yet it seems only a few short days! In the nature of things, all life must pass away after the same strange fashion, and then the place that knows us now will know us no more. God grant that our lives may be lived so that we shall not regret when the end comes."

She was taken from him on January 1st, 1901. Of his loss he said little, even to his son. But grief struck the deeper for lack of power to tell it. "He will find relief in expressing his emotions," he wrote soon after to his son of a bereaved friend. "This I cannot do." The frenzy of work into which he plunged was but a partial anodyne; his old cheery smile grew tremulous; and when he followed her the last word on his lips was her faintly whispered name.

To his children he was ever a wise and loving

PRINCIPAL GRANT

father, leaving their early training largely to their mother, but taking a more and more important part in their education as they grew. No letter was without a message to the "real master of the house," "the wee man," "the dear little fellow," and none ever ended without two round O's, a big one for the elder, a small one for the baby, kissed by the father before the letter was sealed and by the children on arrival. "How God must love us, when we—being evil—love our children so much, and would do anything for them." The only instance in his life in which he could have been accused of showing cowardice was that he could rarely bring himself to chastise them. The necessary punishment was sometimes almost culpably handed over to the mother. On the few occasions on which he steeled himself to the task he was compelled to shut himself up in his own room, and pray for strength to carry out so painful a duty.

The younger boy, born in 1878, was taken from him in 1890. He had been one of those affectionate, troublesome children, probably not unlike Grant himself, whose very pranks make their loss more keenly felt. From the bereavement the mother never fully recovered; hid away among her treasures were the little toys and the clothes she herself had made; the father had his work to do, but he too mourned deeply over the boy whose mental powers were just beginning to ripen when he was taken. "Oh poor wee Geordie! he is nearer to us than

PRIVATE LIFE

ever. I think of him far, far oftener than when he was on earth, and with much more tender feelings, and without fears of his future. God knows best. We are poor blind creatures."

As his elder son grew, Grant watched more and more carefully over his education. Books were recommended, hours for study prescribed, habits of order and neatness inculcated. Above all, he sought to train his moral nature. "My health is now excellent," he writes from Australia, in 1888, "and I feel fit for work of any kind. God has been very good to me; so good that I feel very humble. I hope he will spare me to meet you all again, and do good work for His cause of righteousness and mercy on earth; and that till we meet you will feel especially bound to think of mother, and do everything in your power to help her, and to help poor little Geordie too. You can do that only by learning more and more to govern yourself, in what you say, think, and do. Ask God to give you wisdom and strength and He will do so. One man can help another. Much more can God help us, by inspiring us with high thoughts and holy purposes."

Of this family life religion was an integral part. Morning prayers were an institution never omitted on any plea, however urgent, and the reverent solemnity of his appeals to the Creator had in them the Celtic touch of sympathy and awe. In reading he pursued a definite plan from day to day, but would interrupt his course if any striking occa-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

sion seemed to call for a special passage. Sometimes, as the melody of the words swayed him, he would fall into a brooding tone, and, forgetful of his audience, read on for some time in a voice audible only to himself.

A striking feature of his character was the love invariably displayed for him by animals and young children, a love which he returned to the full. Among the letters which he preserved are a number from children whose parents he had visited, telling of their joy in his presence, and their hope for his return. Dogs and cats fawned on him with a devotion rare in the latter animal. One large Tom insisted on following him to his lectures, till lack of sympathy from the students compelled him to desist. The joy of his dogs when he returned from a journey was pathetic, and he would fling himself on the ground beside them, and join in a roaring romp like a true play-fellow. "I remember one day," writes a friend who lived for some years in the house, almost on the footing of a son, "after a tedious university meeting, the principal came in rather fagged out, and proceeded to his study table. 'Now why don't you lie down and leave your papers alone for a little?' Mrs. Grant said. But he wasn't going to work. He was looking in the dictionary for the names of flowers to supply the wants of a children's game that was in progress out on the veranda. That was about the only kind of rest I ever knew him to take.

PRIVATE LIFE

"Your father's study, as I remember it, was seldom used except as a reception room for students to whom he wished to speak privately. All his correspondence, sermons and treatises were written at the dining-room table, frequently with other people reading and perhaps chatting in the room, though talk was apt to cease when he began in an absent and almost imperceptible undertone to think aloud upon what he was writing. That was the signal for silence, and I generally found about then that I had an engagement or something to do in my study. If I didn't the principal would probably notice some letters that had to be posted at the general post-office.

"Absolutely the freest member of the family circle was old Tom, the cat. He bore the marks of ancient encounters, had no reputation whatever, and was alike devoid of modesty and manners. But it mattered not what the principal was doing, if Tom's unsavoury visage appeared in the doorway, or, failing first notice, when he announced his presence with a surly croak that may in his younger days have been a purr, the writing or reading would have to wait until his wicked old back had been caressed between the principal's slippers, to the tune of 'poor Tom! poor Tom!' Janet¹ used to say that Tom was gifted with second sight, which enabled him to evade the wiles of the medi-

¹ His Scottish servant, and, after Mrs. Grant's death, his house-keeper.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

cal students next door. At all events he lived to a decrepit old age."

Not that even in his home life Grant was perfect. Patience with him was not temperamental; little jars over which he grieved, hot words better left unsaid, were not unknown. The splendid control which he showed in public was sometimes gained by so stern an effort of will, that, on reaching home, he would break out into "that nasty irritability," of which he speaks in his letters.

"Few men get the long holidays, with attendant pleasures—many of them only so-called—that I get," he wrote from Australia. "I ought to be a more grateful, and, therefore, a far better man than I am. Yet with all my preaching to others and to myself, I seem to make little or no progress, morally or spiritually. Old weaknesses and temptations seem still to have power over me. It is becoming clearer to me as a fact of experience that it was not enough for Christ or any one else to reveal the Father to us;—but that it was also necessary that we should be redeemed from the guilt and power of sin, and a new fountain of life and power opened for us. Thank God that the gospel is redemption as well as revelation, and God grant that I may be so redeemed and renewed as to become day by day more like the Master, and so in the end wholly a new creature. I feel my responsibility too for others as well as for myself. I must try to be more helpful to the boys. But there! Would it not be better for

PRIVATE LIFE

me to wait till I get home, and then and there show that I mean all this?"

Splendidly did he live up to his resolve. From the time of his return there was all the old love and tender consideration, joined to a new, unfailing gentleness. The loss of his son, and the long illness of his wife brought on by grief, sanctified his nature still more, and till her death the old warmth of temper was practically never manifested in the home.

His social relations with his friends, whether as pastor with his people, or as principal with his staff, were full of intimacy and affection. "I doubt if he ever refused an invitation from any one of us, or failed to be present on a social occasion," says Professor Cappon. "At such gatherings, as at most assemblies, he was a great contributor to the general animation and gaiety. His entrance was generally a little *bruyant*; the ready hand and robust laugh were characteristic of his stirring personality, and his tall, thin figure circulated freely among the guests, except when he had got hold of some one who was of importance for any scheme he had in hand. Then his firm clutch of the arm and suavely bent head indicated that business was on foot. But he was generally the centre of a group whose talk and laughter were the gayest and the loudest in the room, his own easily bearing the bell in those respects."

Of formal social calls he paid few, but was fond

PRINCIPAL GRANT

of dropping in unexpectedly on friends and colleagues, and taking "pot-luck" with them. Such meetings brought him within their guard, and broke down formality. Conversely he liked nothing so well as to seize on half a dozen friends or students, and bring them in to dinner or tea, a proceeding which sometimes laid almost too great a strain upon the household larder. This carelessness sprang partly from a confidence in his wife's resourcefulness, and partly from the little regard which he himself felt for what he ate and drank. It was also a sign of an unconventionality which he well knew how to restrain when necessary. For manners and for deportment he had a high regard, and usually introduced his lectures on homiletics with some caustic remarks, in which the necessity of being a gentleman as well as a Christian was forcibly urged, and laws laid down as to the proper use of handkerchiefs and the care of finger nails. But for meaningless conventionality he cared little. He was often to be seen in early days in Halifax carrying home a loaf of bread wrapped up in brown paper, and was once accused by a less successful co-presbyter of "trying to curry favour with the working-classes." Always, indeed, though so unrestrained, he had a natural air of dignity and of breeding, and a rare fascination of manner.

With young men he was at his best. His heart went out to them in their enthusiasm, their blind, passionate striving, their high ideals, often so ludi-

PRIVATE LIFE

crously unfulfilled. From the time he had a home in Halifax, several students were usually his guests during the session, either those whose resources he knew to be scanty, or those to whom he was bound by some tie of blood or of friendship. But while he invited their confidence, he never constrained or abused it. Two who had at the outset of their careers chosen the ministry, decided while under his roof to take up the study of medicine. Both were lads of exceptional talent, and his disappointment was bitter, but he made no attempt to influence their decision, and no less care and affection were shown towards them than before. On the affection of young men his love for athletics gave him an added hold. At Glasgow he was known as a fast and fearless captain of the football team; in Halifax he was for years one of the skips of the curling club; in Kingston he was too busy for much exercise beyond walking, though he became a competent player at lawn tennis and at bowls. But though ceasing to take part, his interest remained. No football match ever lacked his presence; if he was absent from the city, a telegram with the result was invariably sent. All his old students remember him in the dressing-room at half-time or at the finish, encouraging, exhorting, consoling, pointing out the special pieces of play which had struck him. Some years ago, in a hotly-contested match at Kingston between Queen's and Toronto University, the crowd surged over the

PRINCIPAL GRANT

field. "Put them back," urged Grant to a motionless policeman. "I can't, sir." "Well, I can," said the principal, and seizing the fellow's baton, he dashed into the crowd, hitting right and left, pushing, shoving, and shouting in a voice heard far across the field. The crowd was soon safely behind the ropes, and the stick restored to its rightful owner, accompanied by a strong hint as to the virtue of efficiency.

He possessed in striking measure the gift of being able, without being accused of cant or even of preaching, to impress upon young men the necessity of leading a moral life. On nothing did he insist so much as on personal purity. Strong and vigorous as was his manhood, fascinating as was his personality, he had for impurity a hatred that amounted to physical loathing. Nowhere did he give the appearance of more absolute candour, of more personal intensity of feeling, than in his addresses on this subject to the students in arts and in medicine. Nothing more roused his indignation than any attempt to pass over youthful impurity as a mere peccadillo, born of hot blood and impulses not ungenerous. "Not drink but dirt is the greatest sin of Canada," he hotly told a prohibition orator. "It is a question whether adultery or murder be the greater sin," was the opening of a sermon. Only once did he take any notice of the numerous anonymous communications which he received. A letter threatened that if he did not within two

PRIVATE LIFE

days send a named sum of money to an address at the post-office, his sin with a member of the congregation would be revealed. The letter was instantly placed in the hands of the police, and the writer put behind prison bars. The poor wretch pleaded that it was his first offence, admitted the utter groundlessness of the charge, and so worked on Grant's feelings that he interceded with the authorities, and the blackmailer was let off with the minimum sentence.

"His manner was naturally animated, and readily assumed a jovial tone in company that he liked," writes Professor Cappon, "but in any case he never allowed it to show depression. Even a grave demeanour he reserved for ceremonial occasions. He had much natural dignity, however, though it was not usually of the quiet or silent kind. In friendly or caustic repartee he was not to be beaten, but could generally find something that was good and glanced at the heart of the matter; if not, worse would do, as long as it carried off the occasion. He was exceedingly clear and effective in stating a case; his vigorous mind liked the exercise of debate, and he stated his points, often marking them off on his fingers, with great confidence and readiness. He was apt to underestimate intelligence which was less ready and less lucid in expression. He never wanted for argument any more than Dr. Johnson, and like the great doctor he would sometimes give good and bad with the same vigour and

PRINCIPAL GRANT

emphasis. His conversation ran most readily on questions of practical import, problems of administration or public policy and affairs of the day. On literary subjects he would take his share, but not with the same confidence or interest; metaphysics he blessed from afar, and though he was a stimulating and interesting professor of divinity, his discourse did not turn much that way. His psychic world was much more that of the statesman and publicist than that of the scholar or the theologian. In serious talk his best vein was when drawing from his own experience of men and things."

To this verdict it must be added that in his own family, and with the two or three friends whom he admitted into that inner circle, his talk ran much more on religious matters, which were to him too sacred to be discussed in public, even with intimate and trusted colleagues. The one exception which he made to this rule was that to those who came asking advice his heart was ever open. But in general he had a horror of talking shop, or of discussing his own thoughts and emotions. Rarely, even with his family, would he tell of his own religious struggles, nor to those who came for advice did he dispense ready-made Morrison's pills. "Definite advice on intellectual or moral questions was not always easy to obtain from the principal, who put not much value upon advice got cheaply," writes one of his old students. "He preferred that a man should work out his own salvation, and not

PRIVATE LIFE

seek to bridge difficulties by accepting the dictum of another. His answers seemed at times to be framed in an enigmatical, almost equivocal, sense that was designed to draw out and lead, rather than to satisfy the mind. Occasionally, however, an unexpected Celtic glow would infuse into his words meaning which mere repetition cannot disclose. One instance of this made a lasting impression upon me. I had been working hard and long at an essay on philosophy—I think it was on Kant's theory as to the freedom of the will—and had got to that point so common to beginners in philosophy where I became dejected and seemed to be able to arrive at no conclusion. I came downstairs and threw myself into a chair, remarking that about all I seemed to have left in the way of belief of any kind was that bad was bad, and good was better than that. 'If you have thoroughly learned that,' he said, 'you have learned a great deal.' He rose from his chair as he spoke, and the words were uttered with such earnestness as imbedded them in my memory for good."

When it was a question of intellectual rather than of moral doubt, he was easier to approach. "I had an interesting day's work yesterday," he wrote to his son. "Driving in with an intelligent mechanic, who had been putting in a furnace for H. F., we talked together, and he told me that he was reputed an atheist, because he did not attend church, but that he was not that, though he did

PRINCIPAL GRANT

not know very well what he believed. I explained to him that it mattered little what he did not believe, but everything what he did believe, as he should live up to that, if he wished to get more light; as he said he believed that Jesus was not only the best and the wisest teacher he knew but something more, though he did not know what, his duty was to follow Him as far as he did know. He assented, and without my inviting came to the church yesterday evening, and at the close told me he intended to take my advice in future. This morning another man called on me to say that my sermons yesterday had touched his conscience and determined him not to do something very reprehensible in the way of deceiving others that he had intended to do, and also to try and break off the habit of drinking which was enslaving him. He is an educated and gentlemanly man, aged about forty, and I spent an hour or two with him, trying to direct him to the source of all strength, and giving him practical hints that I hope may help him. He is to call on me and report next week."

His aim was, in his conversation as in his letters, to suit his tone to the listener, though always retaining his own point of view; mingling herein, as in public life, singular cleverness and mental dexterity with rare candour and sincerity.

CHAPTER XXV

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TEACHING

“WHY should men study the Bible at all? Only in a minor degree for historical, literary, or professional purposes. The all important question to ask them is: Have you sought to find God? If not, you have missed the mark.” So spoke Grant in Convocation Hall in 1891. The necessity of fighting the battle of the hour often made it necessary for him to put forward in very plain terms the just rights and privileges of criticism. But he knew well that true religion consisted not in historical or critical learning, but in the communion of the individual soul with God. “Till a man believes that God is a person, as truly as I myself am, though His personality includes infinitely more than the finite can comprehend, and that the heart of that Being is love, and that Jesus by the eternal spirit is revealing Him, and is as near to us as to the disciples when on earth, and far more so, just as the internal principle is nearer than any external being, he is not likely to find God a source of healing and health. Once that first lesson in divine things is learned, we can enter into relations with God; we can become childlike enough to have dealings with Him, and to love, trust, and

PRINCIPAL GRANT

cast ourselves upon Him. I hope that you are learning this lesson. It is one that very young and very simple people may learn, and yet it has been too difficult for some of the wise and prudent."¹

This trust in God came out pre-eminently in the dark places of life, when sickness or suffering lay heavy upon those dear to him. Writing to his wife as she sat beside a sick bed from which the needs of the university had called him, he says:—

"I was greatly comforted last night, when on reading in course the Scripture lesson at prayers, I came to the verse in the Psalms: 'Unto God the Lord do belong the issues from death.' I felt that wee Geordie was and is really in His hands, that He is, and is therefore the living God, and that all will be well for His children. And so I was able to look up to Him and commit you and baby to Him and to say, 'Thy will be done.' After going to bed I thought much on you, and on our relation to God, and I felt that we had not cultivated sufficiently the sense of His nearness to us, and that we had not enough of the simple, childlike spirit of faith. He would draw us to Himself by His varied providences, His gifts, and warnings, and sickness, and absence, and losses, and trials. My darling wife, let us look up to Him as little children, and doubt not His presence and His love, even when sore trials come upon us."

His attitude upon the question of the so-called

¹ Letter to his son, 1893.

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TEACHING

"higher criticism," with which in later years he became so closely identified, was simple. The results of criticism, he felt sure, could not shake the fundamental truths of Christianity. "The great fact of the world's history is Christianity, and the centre of Christian thought, life, and power is the person, and cross and resurrection of Jesus. Against this fact all scepticism beats in vain. When we read such undoubted epistles as those of 1st Thessalonians, Galatians, 1st and 2nd Corinthians, Romans, and Philippians, all admitted now to have been written by Paul between A.D. 52 and 60, and after he had been preaching and living the same truths for twenty years or more, and find that the only key to his life, and the only key to the lives of the apostles who had lived for years with Jesus, is a like faith in Him, and that peace of conscience comes only through faith in Him, we have got what cannot be explained away, and, moreover, what has been repeated in the lives of countless numbers in every generation since, who have been the salt that has kept society sweet."¹

But though the results of criticism, however valuable, are of secondary importance, the attitude of the church towards the critics is by no means so, but reveals how far she has trust in God, and in His holy spirit. If pharisaic ecclesiastics, veiling their self-seeking and cowardice beneath a mask of sanctity, "tremble for the ark of

¹ Letter to his son, 1895.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

God," if persecution, whether physical, or the still more subtle torture of the soul, be invoked to quell the divine voice of reason and intellect, then the spirit shown by such men is not of secondary importance but a proof that they have not rightly estimated God's patience, love, and charity, that they will not understand the way in which He does all "in His good time."

The phrase "higher criticism" was to him not a title arrogated to a special hobby by consequential scholarship, but a technical term, no more objectionable than "higher mathematics"; yet the misunderstanding which it aroused led him to feel that a better phrase would be "historical criticism," or "biblical introduction, *i.e.*, a consideration of the literary and historical surroundings amid which the unique literature of the Old and New Testament grew up." God's revelation was given through human instruments, and to suppose that the fullest study of that revelation by every power which God had given to man would do aught save purify and deepen our religious knowledge and conscience, seemed to him to verge on blasphemy. Inspiration was a subject on which he thought and read for many years before coming to a consistent conclusion, but from the first he felt that "in everything that man can discover by the right use of his faculties, the language of Scripture was according to the scientific knowledge of the day. Only such language would have been a fitting framework for the spiritual

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TEACHING

truth revealed." To have used strictly accurate language in these non-essentials, would only have confused, as to the necessary revelations, those who held the crude scientific ideas of the day; though even here the transfusing power of a great spiritual truth kept their thoughts of God from being "identified with the fantastic mythologies and polytheisms of their age."

Thus "while we believe that there is a specially divine side to the Scriptures, evidently it must be impossible to define it until we have exhausted the human element. That cannot be done until scholarship and thought, investigation and criticism, have spoken their last words." "There is a school now in Britain and America whose position may be characterized as a resolute and scholarly attempt to combine the old faith with the new criticism. Accepting every undoubted result of criticism, and admitting that in consequence a fresh synthesis is required to embrace all the facts, they see in this nothing to shake their faith in the inspiration of Scripture. Their conception of inspiration is wider and deeper than the old. They consider that the new criticism brings out, much more fully than the old view of the Bible did, the actual evolution of God's people and the historical character of the record, and at the same time gives us evidence of a continuous intercourse of Jehovah with his people to which the old view was blind."¹

¹ Lectures to his students, 1891. Repeated in 1900.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

To him, in the words of Delitsch, the historical spirit was "the special charism of our age," and to neglect, or to show open hostility to the wealth of knowledge revealed to us by linguistic criticism, epigraphy, and the various branches of archæology, to doubt that over the varied work of reverent scholars brooded the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit, was to be hostile to the wisdom and benignancy of God who had given such gifts unto men. In their historical setting, how much more real, intelligible and precious became the Hexateuch, the Psalms, the Prophets and the Pauline epistles. From the same point of view he came to look upon the great confessions of the church, and not infrequently expressed a natural irritation at those who insisted upon adherence to the letter of these formulas. "Our stringent subscription form is indeed an anachronism, and has been the means of driving out of the church's ministry many of various kinds of excellence who loved her sincerely," he wrote to his brother in 1871, and in 1898 he told the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago that: "The Reformers believed in publicly confessing their creed, or setting it forth in formal statements from time to time. These confessions were testimonies not tests. A faith in the Gospel made them comparatively indifferent to formulas. What was originally a testimony has since been made a test. It is the greatest error and misfortune that the flower of the soul of one gen-

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TEACHING

eration has been converted by a strange alchemy into an iron band for future generations." With the shallow radicalism which sneered at the strenuous doctrines of the confession he had still less sympathy. "The worst of it is that extreme views about the excellence of the Westminster confession lead to the opposite extreme of depreciation of it. The latter is the worse extreme of the two. It not only argues an unhistorical spirit, as the other view does, but indicates self-sufficiency, which is generally the sign of superficiality. The Westminster divines were a noble body of men, but the modern point of view is quite different from theirs, and we can now only accept their work as the high-water mark of the religion of that age. We have developed since, but to discard such a document would be to break the continuity of religious life. Therefore we keep it, without pressing it in detail, until circumstances enable us to draw up such a confession as will faithfully reflect the higher life of our own day. The time for that is not yet, for this is an age of criticism rather than construction, and criticism has not yet done its work. We must therefore be patient, unless we choose to break the church into fragments, instead of uniting it, and I am inclined to think that hasty utterances and one-sided language do harm."¹

So keen a student of history naturally turned with interest to face the dealings of God with

¹ Letter to his son, 1893.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

universal humanity as manifested in the great ethnic religions. During his college course one of his chief prizes had been gained by an essay on "Hindooism"; throughout his Halifax ministry his interest widened and broadened. His letters are full of ideas which foreshadow his later and more mature thought. More than once he came near to following in his brother's footsteps. "If ever I leave Halifax, it will be, I think, to go to the heathen, but at present I feel that I am doing Christ's work here."¹ In 1894 the Guild Library of the Church of Scotland published, *The Religions of the World in Relation to Christianity*, and in the next year an enlarged edition under the title of *The Religions of the World*, in which he embodied the results of his thinking and lecturing. A number of editions of both volumes have been published, a translation into French was widely sold on the continent, and in spite of the advances which have been made in comparative religion in the past ten years, it still remains the best introductory textbook on the subject. His breadth and his charity, his conviction that "all these religions were blessings to the peoples among whom they originated," never degenerate into a hazy condonation of their failures and short-comings. The chapters on "Israel" and on "Jesus," he considered to be his best work upon religious subjects; but his firm conviction that in Christ alone was the full revelation of the God-

¹ Letter to his brother, 1870.

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TEACHING

head to be found, led to no pharisaic condemnation of the lesser revelations made "at sundry times and in divers manners," but to a belief that it was "right and wise to call attention to their good features rather than to their defects; to the excellent rather than to the bad fruit which they have borne; in a word, to treat them as a rich man should treat his poorer brothers, drawing near to them, getting on common ground with them, and then sharing with them his rich inheritance."

The fullest acceptance of the results of reverent criticism was indeed for him the only way to save Christianity, and to restore it to the supreme place from which, in the minds of so many, it has fallen. Many of his students were led by an acceptance of his fundamental position through that very trying period which arises in the soul when the traditional faith proves inadequate to solve life's enigmas and a new synthesis of the facts is required.

To his wife, July 31st, 1894.—"The enclosed from ——— you might return to me after reading. I was somewhat surprised at getting it, because he was always one of the Highland students who cling to the traditional views of every doctrine, and to literalism rather than to the ideal truth that the letter is only the material vesture for. It is another indication of the movement of thought when a man of that type is dissatisfied with the old bald statements regarding the work of Christ, and sees that His work must be viewed as an eternal process

PRINCIPAL GRANT

ever being accomplished in the making of men like-minded with Himself. Of course, I have written him that his thinking is along right lines, and that he may go ahead boldly, as he is really not opposed to the Confession of Faith, but to comparatively modern exaggerations of the confession, and to popular evangelical theology which is not warranted by the standards of the church."

A prominent Methodist clergyman, Professor Salem Bland, of Winnipeg, writes on this point as follows: "A third kind of influence which Principal Grant exerted on me was felt of late years in the annual sessions of the Alumni Conferences of Queen's University. In these refreshing and stimulating gatherings—not one of the least of Principal Grant's creations—the helpfulness of which some of us feel we can never too gratefully acknowledge, amid the contributions of the brilliant staff which he had gathered around him and of some of the most distinguished of the graduates, the principal himself was the inspiring soul. Whether in biblical, sociological, scientific or historical studies, he created the atmosphere, and it was one of fearlessness, tolerance, and buoyancy. Never, it seems to me, did young men in an age of transition find more wholesome guidance, at once stimulating and reassuring.

"Especially in the dangerous waters of modern biblical criticism was his spirit and teaching of peculiar value. It was at these conferences that

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TEACHING

some of us were first seriously introduced to these questions, and so frankly and reverently and wisely did he guide the study and the discussions that soon to many of us, without pain or shock, the new Bible had become immensely richer, more interesting and more inspiring than the old. In the altered atmosphere of all the evangelical churches of Canada to-day, in regard to biblical criticism, Principal Grant seems to me to have been one of the largest factors."

How far did he deem it possible to see the finger of God in the events of daily life or in the course of human history? While he was fully persuaded that the Christian religion was the complete and final answer to the riddle of the painful earth, he was apt to grow a little contemptuous of the theory which explains life as a series of special providences. "The moderator's minute acquaintance with all the purposes and plans of the Deity is very wonderful," he writes in 1872; and twenty years later, "Dr. —'s intimate acquaintance with the purposes of God and of the devil would be comical were it not revolting." Yet he was fully convinced that at the great crises of history God's hand could be seen, that it could be traced in the downfall of Napoleon I., or in the victory of Germany in 1870. Even in smaller things, like every other man of imagination, he was impressed with what are at least the marvelous coincidences of life, and thought that he caught through the clouds glimpses of the divine purpose.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Writing in 1858 of a class-mate, who was drowned while on his way to take up a mission-station in Nova Scotia, he says: "Time may not tell, but eternity will, the secrets of the Eternal, and what wise ends were subserved by this—to us—strange ordering. And yet we have glimpses. When I heard that the sea had given up his written words; that my old acquaintance, Mr. Clark of Shelburne, had preached them to souls for whom the writer had never intended them, I could not help asking: Is this one of the wise ends? has he then died as a Samson, doing more by his death than by his life? Is he one who, being dead, yet speaketh?" In 1895, when one of his own students, just entering upon his career, was suddenly taken away, Grant thus addressed the students: "We know not all the purposes of the Divine Master, but along one line, at any rate, we can see His purposes. This death is not normal. It is not intended that it should be the rule that a man, youthful and full of vitality, should be cut down as he was. Such a disaster must lead to further investigation of the cause of that sudden ebbing of life. And when the cause is discovered we are near the remedy. This is the way in which God stimulates the medical world in our day, when medicine is studied as a science, to lengthen the life and develop the full powers of the race."

Though so strong a believer in the rights of the individual, he fully realized that "individual religious sentiment does not express the whole religious

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TEACHING

nature of man. Christ's kingdom must be not merely an invisible church, but must be embodied in a society." "When any one society arrogates to itself the name of church, it sins against courtesy and truth, that is, against the spirit of Christ. Every society of believers that is based on the one foundation stone, and that is willing to be governed in accordance with the principles of His word, has a right to the name of church, no matter how simple or how elaborate its organization may be. Organization belongs not to the *esse* but to the *bene esse* of the church." Thus, while every man could realize the fulness of his religious nature only in a society, the form assumed by the organization mattered comparatively little, provided that it were one that satisfied its members. Three centuries of experience had proved that in Scotland Presbyterianism, in England Episcopacy, in Ireland Roman Catholicism, best suited the spiritual needs of the nation. The duty of each of these three great divisions of the church universal was to do its own work, and to extend to its fellow-members sympathy and friendship. The jangling and rivalries of the various denominations grieved him bitterly; with any body which was doing more for Christ than for the world and the devil, he was ready to coöperate. Once at least he took the chair at a public meeting of the Jews of Kingston, and at the Salvation Army he was a frequent visitor.

"I am a poor churchman," he writes to his

PRINCIPAL GRANT

cousin in England in 1888, "for no church on earth satisfies me. Better will come, no doubt, and a better day, when, as Jeremiah saw in vision, man should not say to man, 'Know the Lord,' for all should know Him. It is well to do duty because it is duty, but it is higher to do duty because we love it, and we shall come to that. I sometimes wonder whether the church—as at present constituted—helps or hinders us. It seems to divide men and to divide the nation instead of uniting men and giving the nation inspiration."

When, in 1898, "The Canadian Society of Christian Unity" was founded, largely through the efforts of his friend, the Rev. Herbert Symonds, now rector of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, Grant took a prominent part in its inception, and his was the first name on its council. The society includes members of all Protestant churches, and has done much useful work. "The movement was successful," writes Dr. Symonds, "in bringing the subject to the notice of a great many people, and it also brought a number of clergymen of various denominations together. The subject of unity was at that time discussed at several alumni meetings, and many sermons were preached upon it. Further, the discussions which have taken place, leading to resolutions favouring closer relations between the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches sprang, I believe, out of the interest provoked by the C.S.C.U."

But in spite of his desire for the formation of a

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TEACHING

national church, that on which he laid most stress was individual righteousness won by trust in the living God. While he fully recognized the glorious heights to which man had attained independent of Christianity, he considered that at their best the ideal of the ethnic religions was imperfect, and their fruit cankered at the root. Nothing could lift humanity from futility and sin save the quickening power of the love of God, touching to flame that spark of the God-like which burns, however dimly, in every one of us. Faith in God, a faith not contradictory nor independent of, but supplementary to the revelations of reason, and seen by reason to be in full congruity with itself, could alone support our courage in the hours of darkness and defeat. This faith, reason and history alike showed him to be necessary. So many tendencies of thought, so many developments in universal history point to God, that he could not refuse to believe in Him. And to this behest of reason was added the assurance given by grace, a grace at once imminent and transcendent, the revelation of a spirit which could touch ours because it was similar in essence, though far superior in perfection, to the highest and the most reasonable in ourselves.

But though he had worked out along these lines a metaphysic on which for many years he lectured to his students, action rather than argument seemed to him to afford the solution of life's enigmas.

To his cousin he writes in 1888: "Will every

PRINCIPAL GRANT

one have a chance of knowing God's love personally, and so of attaining to blessedness? What of those born to an entail of suffering, and worse,—born moral cripples, almost moral idiots, or determined to sin by environment? What shall I say but this: the Judge of all the earth will do right. Justice is justice everywhere in earth and heaven. He is just. Ah, He is so much more than that, that it is never said in Holy Scripture, God is just. It is said, God is love. We know what love is in us. Shall man love more truly than God? That would be blasphemy. Yes, it will all come right. Doubt it not. In the meantime do your part. Fail not. And what of the beasties? I know not, but even regarding them I hope. And in so doing have I not on my side that renowned pillar of orthodoxy—Bishop Butler—who says in the first chapter of his *Analogy* that the argument—apart from Scripture—that proves man's continuance in life after death proves also the continuance hereafter of the lower animals? Scripture is for man, and not being intended to gratify our curiosity—which is infinite—says nothing about the lower creatures. But it tells us that God made them, and that he cares for them. Provision was made in the Jewish code for merciful treatment to be extended to them, and God tells Jonah what an awful thing it would be to destroy a city that had in it so many babies and so many cattle, and love shines far, far more powerfully in the New than in the Old Testament.

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND TEACHING

Everything is not revealed to us, but revelation opens to us according as the Christian consciousness develops, and so we can see lines of light streaming from pages that were dull to those whose vision was more imperfect than ours. 'The thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns'; and so is their vision clarified. Not that we have reason to boast therefore. No: for a babe on the shoulders of the giant will see farther than the giant, and after all films are over our eyes too.

"Truth is mysterious—doubtless. Hence the fascination of searching for it. How it disciplines us! 'If the Almighty offered me in one of His hands Truth, and in the other Search after Truth, I would take the latter.' 'I do not know myself,' you say. True, I echo that. And therefore I say, how can I dream that I know God! But I know something of myself; and—I say it reverently but joyfully—I know something of God, something of the heart of God. I know that love is at the heart of the universe, and the knowledge makes me sing and leap, makes me trust and hope, makes me young even when my hairs are growing gray and few. I fall into the slough of despond, and that knowledge lifts me out of it, and puts my feet on a rock and establishes my goings.

"And now, though I have only said a few words, I must stop. Many words are not needed. Open your heart to the ever-present Spirit. Cast yourself on the ever-present Saviour. Fear not. We, poor

PRINCIPAL GRANT

children of a day, are dear to the heart of God. So are the miserable inhabitants of the fetid lanes and closes. Let us never forget that those poor forlorn ones are verily bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Let us strive to abolish dens from our cities, and sin from the earth, and begin by abolishing it from our own hearts."

In religion, as in every walk of life, it may be said of him that he had not many beliefs, but that to those which he had he held with a tenacity which was willing to do and to suffer everything. Much which others thought essential seemed to him debatable; many things which they considered matters of principle, seemed to him only matters of opinion; but to two great cables his barque was moored: faith in a God of righteousness and of love, and faith in the living Christ who had been to him a personal Saviour amid all the vicissitudes of life. Speculations about the future interested him little; "they that are the Lord's shall be with the Lord," was his favourite quotation, and sufficient answer to all his doubts. The trials and losses of his later years only served to deepen this faith. Just a fortnight before the end, writing to his sister, he says:—"What a scene this earth is of sad partings, and—so far as earth knows—everlasting farewells. But we who have faith, if only as a grain of seed, can take comfort as we say: 'I believe in the resurrection of the dead and the life everlasting.'"

CHAPTER XXVI

HIS PERSONALITY

“**T**O-MORROW I shall be sixty-five years old, and my heart is full of gratitude and hope. Have I not seen much of what I prayed and worked for come to pass? The rest will come. *Laus Deo!* Here's a hand to you across one hundred and seventy miles. We each have a work to do, and we delight in doing it. Life has no greater happiness. Clouds come and thick darkness. What of it? They, too, are needed. We know that all things work together for good to the good.”¹

It is easier to state what Grant did than to tell what manner of man he was. The preceding chapters have set forth his activities. Those activities were extraordinarily numerous. The head of a university, he was keenly interested in politics; a theologian, he was sensitive to the material development of his country; a clergyman, he had singularly accurate views upon military policy; a scholar, he had superb administrative ability. Innumerable were the channels in which his energy flowed. He bequeathed to his country a university; he aided in its crucial days the union of Canada; he fostered the sentiment of imperial organization; he had a

¹ Letter to Mr. J. S. Willison, December 21st, 1901.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

large share in welding together the Presbyterian Church; he exerted a rare influence upon public opinion as the work of the development of Canada was prosecuted; he was a leader in the spiritual revolution which has made the religious atmosphere of Canada clearer, more tolerant, more reverent. Behind these achievements was a man; how are we to estimate that nature, with its profound human sympathy, its eager activity, its energy singularly charged with sagacity and charm?

Eagerness is the word which perhaps comes most readily to mind when one recalls his aspect. Eagerness was the secret of his great physical activity; his long stride was that of a man with something to do the moment he reached his goal. Eagerness was the keynote of his conversation; his voice had nothing of the level intonation affected to-day so largely in the English-speaking world, but rose and fell with Celtic vivacity, and who that once has heard the rising inflection which so often closed his sentence can forget it, or, with it, the absorbed interest with which he flung himself into the subject of every conversation?

Energy, boundless and absorbing, ran with the eagerness. His propulsive power was enormous, and it was harnessed to an organizing skill, piercing in its intuition, sober in its patient sanity. Exceedingly rare was the union of the sweeping impetuosity with which he could rush at a project, and the careful scrutiny which he gave to every detail. Rare,

HIS PERSONALITY

also, was the wary coolness with which he held himself in poise. Passion might run high about him, but he could abstain from a fray which promised no real benefit to the country, could in the heat of the conflict distinguish between the aspects which were permanent and those which were momentary.

Keeness was the secret of the poise which governed his impetuosity. His mental vision was piercing. With astonishing frequency his perception of the ultimate meaning of events was accurate. The union of the Presbyterian Church has borne abundant fruit, and the young clergyman, a member of the body least inclined to merge itself in the great church that was to be, committed himself instantly to the cause of union. What has not confederation done for British North America? The Grant of 1867, a son of the province which had least to gain by it, and surrounded by friends who viewed the change with deepest suspicion, had no hesitation in fighting for it. We are all imperialists now; imperial organization was the keynote of his creed for years. The same foresight appears in his conduct of his university. A quarter of a century ago, when equipment was meagre and the prospect narrow, he insisted on acquiring grounds which twenty years later were piled with buildings. University development in Ontario has taken the form of expansion on the side of practical science; in 1884 he was planning such a faculty, and the School of Mining coincided with rather than followed the burst

PRINCIPAL GRANT

of mining activity which has marked the last decade in Ontario. Rapidity and accuracy of judgment inspired his boundless energy, and sagacity ranked with the keenness. His passionate prevision was held firm by a grasp of underlying principles. His judgment was steady and clear; there was none like him in counsel.

Energetic men, men passionately interested in their work, are not always liked by others; often their impetuous activity is resented by those whom they are seeking to hurry into great schemes. Grant aroused little of this. Regard for his practical grasp of affairs was very high. Yet more potent in disarming the antagonism of inertia was his suavity, his sensitive adaptation of address to the man before him. The result was a most remarkable influence over all who knew him. His fiery purpose inspired their ardour, his strong wisdom compelled their respect, his personal charm engaged their liking.

This unusual combination of qualities was seen in its lightest side in his consummate cleverness. The characteristic which made perhaps the strongest impression on those who knew him slightly was his adroitness in the management of men. It was a gift of nature. Impetuous, hot-tempered, not seldom over-bearing, he yet had an instinctive knowledge of how to handle the man with whom he was dealing, and he inevitably took the course that appealed most to that man's peculiarities. In this deftness he

HIS PERSONALITY

was equalled by only one other Canadian publicist, Sir John Macdonald; and while the premier worked in a more difficult field, he presented fewer of the angles which strong convictions make necessary. Grant had the great advantage of dwelling in an atmosphere of idealism and self-sacrifice; none the less, his circumstances were most difficult. His task was to extract from a people by no means wealthy, and under the disadvantage of having grown up in a community scantily provided with facilities for higher learning, the ever-increasing means for supporting an ever-growing university. In the work he employed every quality of his nature, and the quick wit, the resourcefulness, the tact, which were his surface qualities, were used as well as the force of his commanding personality. The precision with which he laid his plans, the certainty with which he avoided false moves, the mastery of every honourable motive of the men to whom he appealed, made a deep impression upon the public. To many his superb handling of his material spelled craft. But no merely crafty man would have flung himself athwart popular passion, as he more than once did, deliberately and of set purpose. Largely as his cleverness bulked in the eyes of the world, it was a superficial characteristic.

His influence upon others had its root in his sympathy. Intellectual acuteness does not arouse affection, and Grant had a mastery of men's hearts. That mastery sprang from his love of them. He

PRINCIPAL GRANT

will rank in Canadian history as a profoundly sympathetic figure. That quality showed in every aspect of his public life, for he loved men in the mass. It showed exquisitely in his relations with his former students, for he loved men individually. He took no pains to court undergraduate liking, but it is impossible to number the men who in later life found the principal a friend whose affection grew with years. He spent himself for his graduates, whether they had prospered or not. He was welcome in their homes, he was the friend of their children. He swayed men because he understood them, and he understood them because he loved them.

Sympathy was the secret of his optimism. Most men, on recalling his qualities, will enumerate that among the chiefest of them. It was a peculiar charm of this eager, busy man that he was intensely and spontaneously hopeful. Life was for him in the finest sense a success. He was born a Nova Scotian and a colonist; he died a Canadian and a citizen of the empire. He was born to a land suffering from the provinciality of pioneer days; he left to his country a centre of vigorous intellectual life. He was a force in our national life, and more than a force—an inspiration. Sorrow came to him as it comes to all, but it dimmed not the cheeriness of his outlook. Happiness was a word little on his lips, for he was too busy. His own comment on it was couched in his favourite quotation: "There is a higher in man than love of happiness; he can do

HIS PERSONALITY

without happiness, and instead find blessedness. Love not pleasure; love God. This is the Everlasting Yea, wherein all contradictories are solved; therein whoso works and walks it is well with him."

APPENDICES

APPENDIX "A"

LETTERS TO THE REV. JOHN CURRIE, 1853-8

November 18th, 1853.—"We reached Liverpool after a very boisterous passage of twenty-three and a half days. We had not left the shores of Nova Scotia more than three hundred miles behind us, when we encountered a violent storm of three days' duration, in which we lost our mainmast. We were then obliged to lay to, as we were almost a wreck, and the wind was directly ahead of us.

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"The misrepresentations which the Free Church ministers have made in Nova Scotia respecting the number which remain in the Established Church, must have proceeded either from ignorance or disingenuousness. The Rev. Norman Macleod, Jr., told me that there are never less than fourteen hundred in his church (and I have found this to be true, as I went myself) and that his father had rather more, for that at the last communion he had eleven hundred communicants.

"I think that talent is not so generally diffused among Scottish students as among Nova Scotians; but every now and then you meet with some extraordinary genius whose abilities have been cherished and most favourably developed by the numerous educational advantages for which Scotland is so famous. They are a most respectable lot. Those who say that they dress badly, etc., do not speak

PRINCIPAL GRANT

the truth; by far the greater number dress like gentlemen.

"We read Horace with Mr. Taylor, assistant to Professor Ramsay, and it is tremendous work. Translation is well attended to, but is not considered of much consequence. Every peculiarity of construction must be illustrated by quoting parallel passages from Virgil, Horace, etc. If any word is used in different meanings, we must tell where and quote the passage. I was the first that was called up in this class and translated very properly, and answered historical questions pretty well, but floundered at the parallel passages: nevertheless I got a 'Thank you,' which not many get.

"I attend the Rev. Norman Macleod's ministrations, who gives me a seat in his own pew, as there were four hundred applicants for seats who could not get any, though his church has seating for eighteen hundred. I lately had an opportunity of hearing the great Mr. Caird, of Errol, Perthshire, of the Established Church, allowed by all to be the most eloquent preacher in Scotland. He is not more than thirty years old, and when at Glasgow University carried off some of the principal prizes. He had one of the best churches in Edinburgh, but his health failing, he was obliged to retire to the country, and very seldom comes to Edinburgh or Glasgow. He is considered by many to be fully more eloquent than Chalmers. An hour before service was to begin, hundreds were crowding around the church, and they could scarcely be kept off by ten policemen who were in attendance. After getting my hat crushed, and my ribs terribly squeezed, I managed to get in, and heard an orator. When using language to represent lamentation, anguish or

APPENDIX "A"

pity, he was evidently a very Jeremiah: his voice so deep, clear and melodious, now mournful, broken, and bursting forth in convulsive and passionate entreaties. Look now towards the pulpit, and you see to all appearance an inspired prophet, his countenance gleaming with the most intense earnestness, and a perfect torrent of successive metaphors—glowing imagery and impassioned appeals bursting from his lips: thundering into the ears of his auditors the terrible denunciations of the Law, the hardened sin-stained nature of our souls and the blessed promises of the Gospel. At one time I thought that his action bordered too near upon the theatrical. But scarcely had I thought so when his whole manner changed; a plain young man occupied the pulpit, distinguished in no degree from the ordinary class of preachers except by the look of fervid earnestness which still sat upon his face. He addressed himself to the understanding; his sermon was calm but pathetic, his ideas logical and convincing, but still interesting and original. The vast assemblage that he addressed were hushed into the stillest silence as he thus, with countenance unruffled as the placid bosom of some mountain lake, expounded unto them the words of everlasting life. I have heard Dr. Macleod, Mr. Pollok, Macdonald from Comrie, Brown of Edinburgh, Monro of Campsie, who is one of the best, Dr. Glover of Edinburgh, etc.; the celebrated Guthrie preach, and the deservedly world-renowned Duff lecture.

"As boarding is cheaper in Edinburgh than in Glasgow, you could get along comfortably enough for seven shillings nine pence a week. Two suits, one for ordinary wear and one for extraordinary, would be quite sufficient, and Nova Scotia fashion

PRINCIPAL GRANT

suits here very well, with the single exception—let your pants be close reefed, *i.e.*, much narrower than commonly worn in Pictou. Do not come unless assured by some of the Glasgow or Pictou ship merchants that they can give or recommend you to a cheap passage back. You would thereby get your outward and homeward bound passages for, say, twelve pounds currency.”

February 3rd, 1855.—“This time let me be the first of us to wish you a very happy New Year. It seems indeed as yesterday that I received your warm congratulations on the incoming of 1854. But since that the mysterious wheel of time has made another revolution, and passively, nay, almost unconsciously, we have taken another tack in the troublesome voyage of life. ‘All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass.’ Now the blood courses joyously in my veins, my heart beats high with expectation, and my light swinging step tells of unbounded animal spirits. But, O my God, I thank Thee that it is Thy word alone that endureth forever! After a very few more turnings at the most of our little sand-glass the heart will cease its throbbing, and our now soul-inspired frame must return to its kindred dust. May we then be wise, and consider well our latter end; that whenever Thou comest, we may welcome Thee with joy, and enter into Thy glory. My dear Mr. Currie, how much do we need to be often stirred up by thinking upon the things which should, above everything else, be our peace and joy. How much do I wish to see you, to clasp your hand, to lay aside the forms and conventionalities of life, to be free from all restraint and every shade of hypocrisy, and by renewing personally our old intimacy and

APPENDIX "A"

palavers receive strength, firmer resolves, and more vigorous and concentrated efforts to higher attainments in goodness. So much worldliness, so much hollow-heartedness, so much striving to live as to displease neither God nor the world, do I find in my own heart, and in most of those whom I even love and admire; so much do I pant for earthly honours, poring over books with the pale midnight moon looking sorrowfully at me, so frequently do I give way to the promptings of pride, vanity, selfishness, and evil passions, and so little inclination do I find in myself or students generally to retain God at all times in our thoughts that I again and again ask myself, Am I a fit and worthy person to preach unto sinners the gospel of the salvation of Jesus Christ? Should I go as one of Messiah's special ambassadors to comfort and cheer the sick, to build up the wavering, reclaim the backsliding, and to turn from the error of his ways the hard of heart and the daring sinner? The answer would immediately be, No, were it not that I call to remembrance that there is none righteous, and that it is God who says, 'My grace shall be sufficient for thee.'

"And now, many, many thanks for your long, kind, amusing, instructive, and news-exhausting letter. I did not deserve it. When I perused its multitudinous contents and received congratulations instead of reproaches, I determined to make some reparation in the shape of length, if not of quality. And so here goes—having made rather a lengthy introduction. Mr. P—— is, as you say, a gentleman and a scholar; in addition to the regular routine of college life and knowledge, he is an excellent German scholar and a first-rate musician. Some narrow-minded persons, indeed, think that

PRINCIPAL GRANT

this latter accomplishment is one with which a minister has nothing to do; that it is too small a thing for him to be occupied about. Such also they consider a good acquaintance with poets, such games as backgammon, draughts, etc. My views on these are that they are all wisely and mercifully ordained of God to help us not over the big hills, but, as it were, the ruts of life; just as in the natural world He has strewed the earth with lovely flowers. The sight of a flower does not indeed give us great help or lift from our breasts a load of sorrow, but what little gushes of pleasure, what sermons of the Creator's love and handiwork do these give us. 'To the pure all things are pure.' . . .

"Already I feel that when I leave this, our fatherland, it will be with regret and pain. For next in my heart to the hills and dales, the mighty forests and the grassy intervalles of my childhood's days, are the ruined castles, cathedrals, and abbeys, the lovely streams, and classic lakes, the towering mountains and lonely wilderness spots of brave old Scotia. And were beauty of scenery, or gratitude for a thousand kindnesses alone to be regarded, surely the 'land o' cakes' must claim the preference. But *nescio qua dulcedine*, the country of our birth has a strange and powerful influence over us—a mystic something there that is not here. Clansmen, kind friends, the great proportion of my relatives, the graves of my forbears, the friends of college life, all have their weight; but on the other side are my parents, my boyish acquaintances, and the dearer friends of my first college life.

"You ask me to tell you about my getting the two prizes last session. Thus it was—there is a gold medal given to the senior Latin class. I tried for

APPENDIX "A"

this; but a Mr. Luke, the most celebrated classical student that Edinburgh Academy has yet turned out, beat me (he was dux in the academy for seven years). The next prize was this—both sides of the class have each one, and the first on my own side was unanimously awarded me by the votes of the students (they award almost all the prizes). It is very seldom that a student is unanimously voted a prize. Had I entered the class as well prepared as Mr. Luke, I would have given him a tussle. But I had never previously written a stanza of Latin verse, had never been accustomed to quote from other authors, and had very little acquaintance with writing Latin prose or the principles of the language. All this and much more I had to acquire, and I did acquire, but unfortunately and necessarily, it was late in the session when I did. As it was I obtained the first regular class prize.

"This session I am in the senior Greek and the Logic classes. The senior Greek meets two hours a day, and out of two hundred and seventy Greek students in the three classes (junior, middle and senior) it has only thirty-five. The Logic has been taught by Professor Buchanan for the last thirty years. I prepared myself in the summer by reading carefully Reid, Brown and Mill, which last is the hardest but one of the best nuts I ever got to crack. The class is arranged in three divisions—the junior containing all students under seventeen; the middle those who are between seventeen and nineteen; and the senior all above nineteen. The senior this year is very full, having over eighty in it, many of them long-headed curmudgeons of over twenty-five years of age.

"For the last two or three months I have been

PRINCIPAL GRANT

engaged in the evenings with private teaching, preparing the sons of a rich gentleman for their next day's lessons at the academy. But as it cuts up my time terribly I intend to give it up next week.

"I get up at seven; between seven and eight I dress, eat my breakfast, arrange my books, and find my way to college; from eight to nine at Greek class; from nine to ten at Logic lecture; from ten to eleven look over lessons for the next hour; from eleven to twelve, Logic. From twelve to two I go home, read some work on Logic, eat my dinner, (I take about fifteen minutes for this, and ten to my breakfast), and find my way back to college. From two to three at Greek class. From three to six find my way home and learn my Greek. From six to seven take my tea and go to my private teaching, which is two miles distant, furnishing me with exercise. From seven to nine with my pupils. Get home at half-past nine, and for the next hour at my Greek exercises; for the next half-hour at worship. And from eleven to one at Logic. I commenced this session by going to bed at twelve, but finding that that would never pay, I had to curtail myself of another hour. Now that I will quit this tuition, I will try to make twelve the hour.

"In the first week of December I was astounded to receive from Mr. Patterson a letter dated Liverpool. It was short, briefly stating that he was thinking of soon calling on me. I immediately wrote, telling him what my address would be in Edinburgh in the holidays. On the evening of December 27th, when lolling in an arm-chair, I was meditating whether I should take the trouble of seeing home a young lady, howbeit she was surpassing fair, and therefore one that I should be on

APPENDIX "A"

my guard against, who had been dining with us, when a card was handed me, and oh, my head swam, for my eyes read, Mr. Isaac Patterson. Oh, his visit did me good! It was a renewing of old ties, a re-drawing out of my heartstrings to the land of my birth. The scenes of old were all spread out before me in their holiday dress and summer glory. West River meandered down the vale; the foliage of the graceful elm and spreading willow, breathed on by the breath of heaven, murmured in rustling musical cadences; while loud above all rang out the clear voice and merry laugh of the light-hearted student as he trudged down the dusty road, and passed through the refreshing coolness of the orchard."

February 26th, 1858.—"You know, I suppose, very little of my movements since the day you left the Broomie Law in the spring of 1856 . . . that summer of 1856, as well as last summer, I spent with the family of a Captain Fairlie, who lives between Ayr and Kilmarnock; had only two nice gentlemanly little boys to teach, a good deal of travelling and amusement, nice times and a good salary. During the summer of 1856 I saw a good deal of the south of Scotland about Moffattdale and Annandale. But last summer was the crowner. I took four weeks' leave of absence while in the West Highlands, and had a grand time; stayed nearly a fortnight with the Macleods of Morven,¹ exploring the whole country, drawing in health from the mountain breezes, and inspiration from the *genius loci*, the shade of Ossian . . . we spouted

¹ The Rev. Norman Macleod of Morven, uncle of Norman of the Barony, and father of the Rev. Norman Macleod of Inverness, and of the late Rev. John Macleod of Govan, both of whom were college chums of Grant.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

poetry and talked love and metaphysics while the murmuring waters sang sweetest music, and the long shivering wave-light gave us a dim spiritual idea that we were not on earth, but in ghostland. . . . Now, Glasgow, you will surely extend me your hospitality for a night or two. That it does right royally; and along with nine or ten young lawyers, writers, gentlemen of the press, etc., I have the finest jolleamus recorded in my note-book. Verily I had a most pleasant summer. The library was my private sitting-room at Coodham, and snugly ensconced in a large arm-chair it was jolly to skiff over a review, or pore over old tough treatises, or have a pleasant laugh with Horace, or write an essay that would serve me for some society in the winter. Very jolly it was in the delicious summer evenings to loll on the green sward, or roam through the great garden; to have a go at the luscious grapes, or the monster gooseberries; or to discuss some knotty Calvinistic point with the gardener; or to cut away up to the manse or some gentleman's house and spend a happy evening—especially if some darling young 'lady fayre' was to be found on the premises; or better still to call on the sick man and see his eye brighten as you read to him the transcendent promises of Holy Writ.

"Three years hence, and God willing, I'll stand on Nova Scotian ground. . . . My time is sadly taken up with meetings—societies—philosophical, debating, political, missionary, etc., and as I am continually thrust into the secretaryship, the work entailed on me is no joke. However, a fellow is never so happy as when he has lots to do. Throughout this session I have spoken very frequently at soirées

APPENDIX "A"

and such shines; the United Presbyterian students (about forty) held their annual tea-fight lately. They kindly sent me a ticket with a request that I would hold forth. I did so. It was the finest affair of the kind I ever was at, and the upshot is, that we—the Established Church students,—and they, are going to have a grand joint tuck-out. I moved that we should also ask the Free Church students to go in with us. We asked them, but at their meeting—to the astonishment of every liberal-minded Christian man—they, with the most irrational bigotry, decided—twenty-one to twelve—to refuse to have any dealings with such heathens as we, in their eyes, are. I have also preached to small audiences (from fifty to two hundred) at different times, and find it by no means so difficult as I had expected; though the feeling of responsibility on one is very awful;—to think that we are presenting Christ to men with eternal souls, and that the fault is ours if they go away without having learned some good lesson.

“We had a respectable snowball row the other day, from which I emerged with a black eye and cut lip. It was great. I pitched into a few and no mistake. Next session some of us intend publishing a volume of essays¹; and we intend to have some great times at the election of our Lord Rector next November.

“What kind of spirit is abroad, old friend, in Nova? Any signs of a union? Any hope of large-hearted Christian views influencing the people at large? Any symptom of national and not party or factious legislation?”

¹ Of this I can find no trace.—W. L. G.

APPENDIX "B"

LETTERS TO HIS BROTHER CHARLES, 1869-71

January 28th, 1869.—"As to myself, I feel more in earnest with my grand work of preaching every day. I am feeling greater freedom in speech, and a nobler idea of the preacher's work is taking possession of me, high as I always rated it. The results are seen it seems to me already. Last night I counted between fifty and sixty *men* at the prayer-meeting; and to-night I had sixteen soldiers at my Bible class. To feel deeply and to speak simply, that's what we have got to do—not to try to utter a thing impressively, or to think of the utterance at all, for that leads to artificiality or mouthing, or affectation of some sort.

"Your plan of work is exactly what I had expected it to be. Of course it will not all be plain sailing. The longer I am in the work of the ministry, the harder it seems to me to arouse people to a sense of the deceitfulness of their hearts, their ignorance of self, and their blind, besotted, all-absorbing love of self.

"What must it be with fast young Bengal—young fellows with a smattering of European ideas and civilization, but without the moral basis and backbone that you may expect to find in a greater or a less degree in Europeans. The work before you is terrible. Even here, though of late I have had more success than ever, in gloomy moments I ask myself—have I done, am I doing the slightest good? And

PRINCIPAL GRANT

this I am beginning to feel, that any good I may have done is not what seems to me success, but something that has not come under my own eyes. Applause, crowds, noise, all that is compatible with vanity and delusion, indeed generally marks a ministry of spiritual nothingness. To really quicken a soul, to unite it to the fountain of life, what a work is that, and how seldom is it given to any of us to accomplish it! God grant you faith unto the end, for faith only will uphold you."

June 18th, 1869.—"Here we are moving but slowly. We have something to cheer and much to discourage. I am kept awfully busy with routine work and petty duties. If it weren't for eight or ten of my lay assistants, I would faint altogether. I am getting good work out of some of them, and there's always one or two new ones appearing to help. I intend to take several short spells of holiday this year so as to be able to work in the winter with vigour. What you say about my character and its faults I accept as true, because in those things outsiders see us better than we see ourselves."

July 28th, 1869.—"The synod was a great success in many ways. We agreed to accept young Robertson, of Aneiteum, as an evangelist to the New Hebrides; he will go out a year after Goodwill, who goes next month. —, —, and —, made a grand attack on the Home Mission Board, but though they brought their three elders they were beaten nine to twenty-two. All the other presbyteries stuck by me to a man. Staid, broad-bottomed old Pictou presbytery can't now carry all it chooses as once it could, and they are beginning to see that. The Home Mission Board was re-appointed, and with fuller powers than before, even the malcontents,

APPENDIX "B"

after their beating, not objecting. Hereafter it has the allocating of missionaries and licentiates. On my motion then, Philip and another were added to the board, and all ended smoothly.

"On Sunday next is my mid-summer communion. I hope God will manifest Himself to us in His dear Son very evidently. May He bless and sustain you more and more. It is blessed indeed to trust, to love, and to work for Him."

August 13th, 1869.—"I think that I am becoming a perfect saint. Here is another letter to you, though I wrote you last mail. Well, I never expect to be quite appreciated on earth. I must also confess that you have developed as a correspondent in a most extraordinary and effective manner. By the time you receive this you will have received, I hope, all the *Records* up to and including August, and have seen your own letters. They take well, and under the present committee and staff of contributors, the *Record* will, I think, do. The only nuisance is, that some men will send old sermons, and some men will send mendacious addresses, and so there is always more matter, such as it is, than can be put in. This, however, obviates the necessity for scissors matter.

"We have resolved to build a new kirk at Richmond. Thompson collected six hundred dollars at Richmond and Northwest Arm. He then began on the Halifax people; called on K. and M., and got ten dollars each from them. I saw that he would ruin the thing, so I burnt his list and went to K. and M. and told them that they must give a hundred dollars apiece or nothing. They agreed, and put down as they were told. I then went to the Chief Justice, G.D. and myself, and we all did ditto.

PRINCIPAL GRANT

To-morrow I intend going to J. F. M., etc., for ditto. We must raise somewhere four thousand dollars, and we can let another one thousand remain on the building, as we are always capable of getting sixty dollars a year of rent for the school-house.

"I have commenced a meeting for the married soldiers and their wives. I have more soldiers to look after than the two other chaplains together, and two hundred and five families of civilians, besides clerks, servant girls, public duties, etc., so that I am driven half distracted by work of all kinds. No time for study. I would cut and run did I not feel that God was blessing the work.

"What you say of the general weakness of the Scotch Church, go where you will, is too true. I believe the reason to be that the church has not dared to act out the principles on which it is founded. It is democratic in origin, in genius, in its history; but its ministers are afraid of democracy, and trim, or ape, or hold their hands. The F. C. and U. P. cast themselves on the people; are not afraid of spiritual fervour, or excitement, and the people see that they are in earnest, and mean what they say, and so, of course, they support them. What the future will produce it is difficult to say. A cataclysm is coming, and mere cobwebs or finical prettinesses or spiritual gentility, or gigmantility will go down in it in a mere moment."

September 24th, 1869.—"My living at the Arm has its inconveniences, but also its great comforts. Hill (of St. Paul's) and I meet every morning at seven, or half-past six, under a bank that stretches before our doors, for a regular swim. What would you give for the sensation? The Atlantic, sir, with the water ranging from fifty-six to sixty degrees

APPENDIX "B"

Fahrenheit, and the air about the same. Comfort number one, and number two is that I can take my meals in peace, those of them, that is, that I eat out there. No rings at the door, and no dread of rings. It is perfect bliss to eat a meal undisturbed."

February 11th, 1870.—"Our circulation (of the *Record*) will not be larger than last year, for its liberal tone anent organs, the hymnal, union, and general church policy, has disgusted a few here and there through the country, and they have dropped off. But I put up with their loss very patiently, for a few of these obstructives ought to be taught that they are not to rule on all occasions, and be allowed to direct the whole course of the church. The 'weaker brethren' in too many churches rule them absolutely, and it's time to let them know that the stronger have some rights also."

May 17th, 1870.—"Last Sunday was the seventh anniversary of my seven years here, and instead of a sermon I gave a review of the past, and in so doing lectured people terribly. I have decided to remain with them, though Montreal was staggering me a little during the past three or four months. At my last communion three hundred and six sat down, thirty-four new ones included, and I felt that I daren't leave."

September 9th, 1870.—"There is, I think, no fear but that we shall accomplish a union, and our delegates both here and in old Canada are so superior to theirs, that it will be strange if we don't hold our own in negotiations. Last Monday I got a letter from the committee of patronage of St. Andrew's, Montreal, making me the formal offer of the charge, stipend three thousand six hundred dollars. I promptly declined, although, I must con-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

fess, with a few misgivings, seeing that it is doubtful if a fit man for the place can be had, and that if he is not, then, that the congregation that could do most for the cause generally is paralyzed. Its resources are enormous, if it were well handled."

February 10th, 1871.—"Three weeks hence I am to lecture to the Dalhousie students on university education in Nova Scotia. I have been run to death writing reports for the Presbyterian home mission, the synod's home mission, the working society, the dispensary, the industrial school, etc., etc., and my time is so cut up that I can hardly get a calm hour to read or digest what I read. My classes are too numerous, I think, and yet I don't want to give any of them up. The church never was so full as it is, but there doesn't seem the same spiritual life in myself or them as a year ago. I suppose progress is like the tide, ebbs as well as flows—in the individual, and in the congregation and in the church.

"I think I told you in my last that our choir had resigned, and that the session had appointed a precentor, Sergeant Cook of the 78th. The experiment is succeeding very well, as far as producing congregational singing is concerned, and I think that we'll try and keep it up. The people join in wonderfully, and it's a great relief to be without a choir. Everything else goes on much as usual. The 84th Regiment, which has lately come, has only thirty or forty Presbyterians in it.

"I heard that Gordon had been called to the St. Andrew's Church, Montreal, but it seems that it is a mistake. They have sent to Dr. Norman to send them one from Scotland. One writes to me that if I would come they would at once call me, but my answer invariably is, 'I am well enough as I am.'

APPENDIX "B"

Frequent changes, especially to 'better oneself' are very injurious in the minds of the people. But I have resolved to visit Montreal in May or June, when the synod meets this year, and get a little acquainted with our ministers there. They seem to have no rising young men but the two Pictonians, Gordon and Macdonnell. Talent as a rule now doesn't go into the church."

During the greater part of 1870-1 he had as assistant the Rev. J. Fraser Campbell, now a missionary of the church in Central India. This was rendered absolutely necessary by his having accepted the chaplaincy of the 78th Highland Regiment, then garrisoning Halifax. But he by no means got the full benefit of the services of his assistant, as is shown by the following extract:—

November 4th, 1870.—"Not being able to get any one for Newfoundland, and it being in a shaky state, owing to a three months' vacancy without the least supply or prospect of it, I sent Fraser Campbell to them last mail for two months, hoping that in the meantime something would turn up. So that I have on hand now four services on Sabbath, and week meetings innumerable—Monday evening Bible class of men and women, average attendance forty-five; workers' meeting thereafter; Wednesday, ladies' Bible class, average attendance fifty; prayer-meeting larger than ever; teachers' meeting, average attendance forty; Friday evening's class at barracks; besides four or five cottage meetings, a superintendence of which I have to take."

INDEX

A

ALUMNI CONFERENCE, 455, 490
Annexation to United States, 249, 396
Anti-Burghers, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19

C

CAIRD, REV. JOHN, 510
Canadian Pacific Railway, 129, 137, 244, 245, 248, 251, 255
Carman, Rev. Dr., 396
Caven, Rev. Principal, 278, 365, 429, 431
Chiniquy, Rev. Father, 174
Clark, Hon. Mortimer, 425
Conolly, Archbishop, 81, 103, 175

D

DALHOUSIE UNIVERSITY, 61, 63, 183
Denison, Colonel G. T., 408, 410

E

EDUCATION, in Pictou, 13, 16; in Scotland, 24; in Nova Scotia, 21, 60, 67, 89, 181; in Upper Canada, 189, 206, 272; for women, 237; matriculation standards, 239, 315, 323; the Bible in, 362; in Manitoba, 368

F

FLEMING, SIB SANDFORD, 129, 224, 236, 251, 266, 412
Free Church of Scotland, 18, 34, 509, 519

G

GORDON, REV. PRINCIPAL D. M., 146, 205, 217, 224, 429, 433, 526
Grant, Rev. C. M., 10, 95, 98, 177, 182, 521-7
Grant, Principal, early days, 6; success at Glasgow, 23; his professors, 25; president of the Conservative Club, 27; athletic skill, 29, 447, 475; views on Sunday street cars, 33; influenced by Carlyle, 41; tours the continent, 42; advocates a native ministry, 51; canonized, 55; comes to Halifax, 58; tries to found a theological hall, 67; becomes unpopular, 74; in society, 105, 474; marriage, 120; advocates a national church of Canada, 155; views as to newspapers, 162; visits Scottish Assemblies, 164; views on Franco-Prussian war, 178; advocates union of Maritime Provinces, 181; collects for Pine Hill Theological College, 186; installed as principal, 205; collects for Queen's, 218; breaks down, 231; crosses Kicking Horse Pass, 251; fights Temporalities Case, 267; accused of agnosticism, 269; declines to become minister of education, 261; declines to become president of Toronto University, 269; opposes university federation, 286; col-

PRINCIPAL GRANT

Grant, Principal—*Continued*

lects Jubilee Fund, 290; visits Oxford, 296; opposes political control of education, 325-7; refuses to enter politics, 349; refuses to leave Canada, 360; visits Manitoba schools, 368; opposes exclusion of Chinese, 370; opposes prohibition, 381; in the Assembly, 429; made C.M.G., 436; death of, 438; views on higher criticism, 484; as a collector, 523; edits the *Record*, 523; declines St. Andrew's Church, Montreal, 525
Grant Hall, 345

H

HONG LEE, 372
Howe, Hon. Joseph, 91, 92, 99, 184

J

JESUITS' ESTATES BILL, 363

K

KING'S COLLEGE, Windsor, 16, 62, 66

L

LANG, REV. GAVIN, 165, 257
Laurier, Sir W., 373, 376, 415
LeSueur, Mr. W. D., 172
Liddon, Canon, 297
Luther, 43

M

McCarthy, D'Alton, 409
McCulloch, Rev. Thomas, 15, 17, 62
McGill University, 233, 331
Macdonald, Prof. C., 65, 435
Macdonald, Sir John A., 90, 132, 205, 348, 402, 503

Macdonnell, Rev. D. J., 146, 151, 168, 217, 228, 266, 363, 527
MacKerras, Prof., 197, 199, 217, 224, 237
Macleod, Norman, 32, 47, 108
Machar, Miss A. M., 152, 156, 173, 233
Moody, D. L., 41, 73
Mowat, Sir Oliver, 261, 352, 366
Mulock, Sir William, 273, 321, 411

N

NELLES, CHANCELLOR S. S., 232, 281

P

PARKIN, G. R., 407, 412, 414, 417
Philip, Rev. W. M., 68, 523
Pictou Academy, 15, 17
Pictou County, settled, 2; immigration into, 5; education in, 13; Grant's love of, 39; religious revival in, 171; religious feeling of, 522
Picturesque Canada, 247
Pollok, Rev. Allan, 20, 63, 81, 169
Prince Edward Island, 56, 124
Prohibition in Canada, 383

Q

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, 21, 53, 55; early history of, 189; difficulties of, 233; secures new buildings, 235; new professors appointed, 238, 292; establishes honour courses, 240, 324; receives a municipal grant, 344; in 1899, 421; proposed nationalization of, 428
Queen's Quarterly, 455

INDEX

R

Record, The, 35, 68, 86, 523
"Reformers of the Nineteenth Century," 83
Religions of the World, 488
River John, 55, 169
Rogers, Major, 253
Ryerson, Dr. Egerton, 262

S

St. MATTHEW'S CHURCH, 15, 58, 81
St. John, fire at, 159
School of Mining, in Kingston, 284, 333-42
Scott, Rev. John, 59, 106
Smith, Goldwin, 236, 247, 263, 282, 399, 403, 406

Smith, Robertson, 164
Snodgrass, Principal, 187, 197, 199, 202, 217, 222
South Africa, 301, 414

T

TEMPORALITIES CASE, 257
Tupper, Sir Charles, 61, 91, 92, 374

U

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, 190, 195, 208, 240, 270, 272, 294, 314, 344

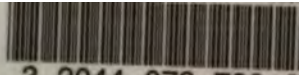
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